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This document attempts to make necessary information on linguistics available to teachers of disadvantaged children. Its first section discusses the three dimensions of language differences--historical, regional, and social--that account for usages frequently condemned without being understood. The second aims at providing a deeper understanding of the nature of the social classes. Sections on phonetics, phonemics, and suprasegmentals progress from the most simple phonetic data to organization of more complex data into a phonological system. A study of the most troublesome areas of grammar precedes a list of phonologic and morphologic features found to be nearly universally associated with lower-class or non-standard English. Non-verbal aspects of communication are described and a notational system for haptics given. A detailed analysis and comparison is made of the phonology of Spanish and English, but grammatical systems are not treated in such detail. In the section on language learning and teaching, methods proven by three decades of use in TESOL programs are described, including a sample lesson. Transcriptions of the speech of children from three disadvantaged groups illustrate the pronunciation and some grammatical features of these speakers. A book-list bibliography is followed by a selected bibliography with lengthy annotations. (DO)

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FINAL REPORT

USOE Project Number 6-1340

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LANGUAGE RESOURCE INFORMATION FOR TEACHERS OF THE CULTURALLY DISADVANTAGED

A. L. Davis et al.

CENTER FOR AMERICAN ENGLISH
ILLINOIS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60616

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A. L. Davis, William M. Austin, William Card,
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INTRODUCTION

At this time in the history of our country there is more expressed concern about disadvantaged children than there has ever been. At the same time, our schools face the crises of social turmoil, of overcrowding and of inadequate financial support. All areas of education have been affected from pre-school through college, in all school activities: curricular, extra-curricular, and organizational as education is becoming more and more recognized as a social force and as an instrument of social policy.

An adequate control of the English language as a major factor in socially-upward mobility has, not surprisingly, become regarded as a social right, a part of the fabric of the civil rights of adequate housing, health care, employment opportunity and income, and the right to self respect.

It is the hope of those who have prepared these materials that they will aid teachers and administrators in understanding better the language problems of disadvantaged students, and to aid them in developing language programs suited to their own local situations.

We also hope that we have succeeded in presenting the various aspects of the very complex subject, without, on the one hand, oversimplifying to the detriment of real understanding, or on the other to obfuscate the subject with extreme complications or abstruse terminology.

It is our further hope, then, that the reader without previous linguistic training, will be able to benefit by studying the materials. They may be used for individuals reading, for informal group discussion or for special classes.

Beside the authors of the chapters: Prof. William M. Austin, Prof. William Card, Prof. Raven I. McDavid, Jr., Prof. Virginia Glenn McDavid, and the project director, many colleagues and graduate students have helped in preparation of the text: Prof. Daniel Cárdenas of the University of Chicago, Prof. Lee A. Pederson of Emory University, Prof. Lawrence M. Davis, Miss Louanna Furbee, Miss Dagna Simpson and Mrs. Emily Morris of the Illinois Institute of Technology.

A. L. Davis
Project Director

Historical, Regional and Social Variation[1]

by Raven I. McDavid, Jr.

What James H. Sledd has called the "agonizing deappraisal" of *Webster's Third New International Dictionary*, since its appearance in 1961, has shown that many Americans, in keeping with the national trend to simplistic interpretations, would make a sharp dichotomy between "good language" and "bad language," or between what is "correct" and what is "incorrect." In this same dichotomizing, the villains of the piece are often the linguists, who are accused of advocating "say as you go" attitudes in language practice and of "letting down the bars" where standards are concerned. Though it is perhaps no help to a linguist or lexicographer who has been clawed by an angry journalist or literary critic, the fact is that no responsible linguist has denied the existence of standards, or refused to recognize that in any speech community some people are acknowledged as using the language better--that is, in a fashion more worthy of emulation--than others.

There is not in language--or in any other form of human behavior--a simple opposition between good and bad, but a complicated set of interrelated variations; it is necessary for linguists themselves to sort out the many dimensions in which usage may vary and show how these variations are related to each other. This has been done in the past by several scholars; but as a way of introducing this topic it is well to repeat their findings.[2]

Among the scales on which a given detail of usage may be measured, the following have been suggested; others may of couse be devised or discovered.

1. The dimension of the medium--essentially writing as opposed to speech. There is little chance to use *antidisestablishmentarianism* in conversation, let alone the sesquipedalian terms of organic chemistry. Only in homely fiction (and the authorship of such a distinguished writer as William Faulkner does not refute the homeliness) is there a place for such a term as *fice*, "a small, noisy, generally worthless dog of uncertain ancestry."

2. The dimension of responsibility, as Joos puts it--an understanding of the normal social expectations of the audience in particular or of the community at large. A

politician who talks over the heads of his audience may be admired for his cleverness or even brilliance, but will usually be denied the votes he is seeking. Some people--like myself--connot read Henry James: he is too consciously superior in his style, which begins to seem a set of mannerisms after half a dozen pages. And it has been attested in a variety of situations that a person who is too meticulous in his observation of grammatical shibboleths and in avoiding the speech of his locality may rouse the distrust of his fellows.[3] On the other hand, a complete disregard of these expectations may be equally disastrous. The novelty of the "Beat" writers, free association with a minimum of revision, soon ran its course, except for the most case-hardened cultists: the reading public became impatient.[4]

3. The dimension of maturity--the notion that one should speak as well as act one's chronological age. The sight of a plump Hausfrau in a bikini is no more distressing than the sound of a middle-aged parent trying to keep up with the latest adolescent slang. Even finer distinctions are apparent: college students scorn the kind of language that had delighted them in high school.

4. The scale of vogue. On one hand, this is found in the slang of the year; on another, in certain kinds of jargon and counter-words. Both varieties of vogue language are exceedingly difficult to pin down; most of the time the vogue has passed before the lexicographers have settled down to recording and classifying.

5. The scale of association--the argot or technical language of a group with which one has become identified. Every association group has this--not just teen-age gangs and the more formally parasitic subcultures of the underworld. The language of a stamp-collector or a model railroad fan on the one hand, of Anglo-Catholic clergy or Chicago critics on the other, may be just as unintelligible to outsiders not of the true bond as is the lingo of safe-crackers or narcotic addicts.

6. The scale of relationship between the speaker or writer and his audience--the "Five Clocks" of Martin Joos. In the center, as Joos reckons it, is the consultative style, of the small committee or social gathering--not more than six people--where free interchange is possible but background information must be supplied. On the one side are the formal style, typified in public address, and the frozen style, that of great literature (encompassing principally but not exclusively the "high style" or the "sublime" of traditional criticism)--where the public insists on the text being repeated intact.

On the other are the *casual* style, where familiarity of speaker and audience with each other eliminates the need for background information, and the *intimate*, where close association makes possible many syntactic shortcuts. It is noticeable that the frozen and the intimate styles, as opposite poles, share the feature of high allusiveness, created in one by the genius of the author at compressing much into a small space and in the other by the closeness of association.

7. The dimension of history, paralleling, to some extent, the scale of maturity in the individual. Dictionaries have long recognized this dimension: words or senses that have not been observed for some centuries are labeled *obsolete*; those that have appeared only rarely in some centuries, and not at all for a few generations, are marked *archaic*. A more troublesome class is made up of those words and meanings which are still encountered, but only in the usage of the older and less sophisticated--those that I would call *old-fashioned*; so far, there is no traditional label in lexicography, though everybody recognizes the items. Even more troublesome are innovations, which are seldom if ever marked, since by the time they are noticed they have generally become well established. A notorious example is the verb *to finalize*, which did not arouse the ire of the belles-lettristes (because of its vogue in advertising) unitl a generation after it had been recorded, and much longer after it first appeared.

8. The regional scale. At one end we have pronunciations, words or meanings that are limited to a small part of the English-speaking world; at the other, things that are truly international in that they are shared by several language communities. *Chay!*, a call to summon cattle, is found in the United States (it may still be heard in Northern Ireland) only in a small section of eastern South Carolina; most of the new terms of science and technology, including such everyday words as *telephone*, are found not only in all places where English is spoken but in other languages as well. Within the English-speaking world, there are words, meanings, pronunciations and even grammatical forms characteristic of England proper, Ireland, Scotland, the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and the West Indies--to say nothing of more local subdivisions in each of these. To take a few examples, a *station* in Australia is the same as a *ranch* in Western North America; a *tickle* in Newfoundland is an inlet; and the *telly* in Britain is the television.

9. The social scale. This means, simply, that some varieties of the language are more esteemed than others.

It may be an alien variety of the community language, like British English in parts of the Commonwealth; it may even be an alien language, like French in parts of Africa. In most European countries it is a variety of the language used by the richer and better born and better educated in a focus of national life--economic, cultural, or political--which often turns out to be the area around the capital: Roman-Florentine in Italy, Castilian in Spain, Parisian in France, Muscovite in Russia, London in England (it should be noted that the lower-class speech of the same areas has no prestige; in fact, as we document with traditional London lower class speech, Cockney, it may be the least favored of all lower-class regional varieties). The favored dialect of one century, even one generation, may not be that of the next. In extreme cases, another city may replace the older center of prestige, as London replaced Winchester after the Norman Conquest; in all cases the favored dialect will change as new classes rise in the scale and set new fashions of language behavior.

The American situation, however, is different--both in the United States and in Canada. Partly through geography, partly through the independence of each of the early settlements from each other, partly through a stubborn tradition of individualism and local loyalty, no city has unqualified preeminence of the kind that Paris, London and Vienna have in their countries. Each of the older cultural centers--Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Richmond, Charleston--had its own élite and boasted its own kind of excellence; as the nation expeanded westward, such new cities as Chicago, San Francisco, Atlanta, St. Louis and Salt Lake City developed their own prestige in their own areas. There is a good deal of ridicule exchanged between cities, most of it good natured, as to which local pronunciation (for grammar and vocabulary are strikingly uniform among urban educated speakers) is the most outlandish or the most pleasant; but for practical purposes the educated speech of one area is as good as another--and all varieties of uneducated speech are at a disadvantage, especially when the speakers move out of their own areas.

For six of the nine scales of variation, the speaker has some freedom of choice. But for the last three-history, region and society--he is more or less caught up in forces beyond his control. No man can change the generation or place of his birth; his attempts to change the social variety of his speech will be determined by the kind of education he receives and the kind of persons he associates with, and opportunities to make a drastic change are not as common as we would like.

Along all of these scales, for practical purposes, we can expect variation in a number of aspects of human communication. Outside language we have (1) proxemics, the phenomena of spatial variation, including the distances at which communication is effective; (2) haptics, the phenomena of body contact; (3) kinesics, bodily movements in communication, of which gestures are only a small part; (4) paralanguage, the non-linguistic but communicatively significant orchestration of the stream of speech, involving such phenomena as abnormally high or low pitch, abnormally fast or slow tempo, abnormally loudness or softness, drawl, clipping, rasp, openness, and the like. These are all in the earliest stages of discussion; linguists and anthropologists recognize their importance but have just begun to develop systems of notation and means of comparison.[5]

Within the domain of language proper, but having a special position, are the suprasegmentals, the phenomena that in English include stress, intonation, transitions, and terminals of clauses and utterances. It should be noted that suprasegmentals, like the aspects of communication outside the language system, have so far had no systematic comparative discussion regionally or socially. And all these phenomena are attested only in a limited way historically, and in writing have no direct reflection.

Within language proper there is a system of segmental phonemes, of vowels and consonants, capable of variation in the structure of the system, in the articulation of the individual phonemes, and in their incidence in particular environments.[6] The system of morphology likewise varies in its structure, in the shape of particular morphemes (especially of inflections), and in their incidence in particular environments. There is a system of syntax, involving the selection and arrangement of morphemes.[7] And finally there is the body of meaningful forms--the lexicon--with various words possible for the same meaning, and various meanings possible for the same word.

If we look at the history of English, we can see that all kinds of changes have taken place as the result of various forces, borrowing (both from other languages and from one dialect of English into another), phonetic change, and analogy.[8]

In the pronunciation system, we have kept four of the short vowels of Old English: /I, ɛ, æ, U/; Old English /Y/, however, has unrounded to /I/, so that fill and will now rhyme. Many of the words which had /U/ in Old English now have /ʌ/, and for most American dialects the low-back rounded vowel /ɔ/, as in *God*, has unrounded to /a/. In contrast to these slight changes, all the long vowels and diphthongs of Old English have changed their phonetic shape, and some of them have fallen together; for example, Middle English /sæ:/, 'body of water,' and /se:/ 'to perceive with the eyes' have fallen together as /si/.

The morphological structure of the language has likewise altered. The noun retains only the general plural and the genitive; the adjective retains comparison (though for many adjectives it is a periphrastic comparison with *more* and *most* instead of the historical inflected comparison with *-er*,*-est*), but has lost all markers of number, gender and case. The pronoun system has been drastically simplified: only the neuter *it* retains the old accusative, here undifferentiated from the nominative; in all other pronouns the old dative has assumed all object functions. In the second person the historical dative plural has not only usurped the functions of the accusative but those of the nominative as well, and (with rare exceptions) has become the standard for the singular in object and subject positions. In the third person, *she*, *they*, *their* and *them*--borrowings from Northern English dialects--have supplanted the older forms. Throughout the pronominal system there has been a differentiation between the attributive genitive, as *my book*, and the absolute, as *a book of mine*. The article and demonstrative are now distinct from each other; the demonstrative has lost all gender and case distinctions, with the historical neuter nominative-accusatives *this* and *that* in the singular and developing new plurals.

The most spectacular morphological changes have taken place in the verb. It is still a two-tense verb, like all Germanic verbs, but many of the older strong or irregular verbs have become weak or regular, and the survivors have tended to level their principal parts: only *was/were* remains of the historical distinction between preterite singular and preterite plural, and for many verbs preterite and past participle have fallen together. Distinctions of person and number have been lost except for the verb *to be* and for the third singular present indicative. The subjunctive mode has been lost except for the hypothetical *if I* (*he*) *were you*, the very formal *if this be treason*, a series of petrified formulas, such as *resolved*, *that this house stand adjourned*, and that-clauses following such verbs as *urge* and *insist*.

Syntactic changes are also numerous. Word order, once flexible and capable of variation, as in classical Latin or contemporary Ojibwa, has now been fixed. New patterns of interrogative and negative structures have developed, with the verb *do* as an auxiliary. And there has been a proliferation of very complicated verb phrases, capable of rendering far more subtle nuances of meaning than could have been rendered in Latin; if some of them rarely occur, as *tomorrow our house will have been being redecorated for two months*, they are comprehensible and acceptable when they occur.

Changes in the vocabulary and in meanings are so numerous and familiar that it is almost useless to mention them; a few examples will suffice. *Starve*, originally meaning 'to perish' like its German cognate *sterben*, came to signify 'to perish of hunger'; as a general verb it has been replaced by *die*. The overworked *nice* originally meant *foolish*. *Flesh* has lost its meaning of 'edible muscular tissue,' and has been replaced in this meaning by *meat*, which originally signified anything edible (*sweetmeats* preserves the old meaning); *food* has assumed the general meaning.

To this stage of the presentation we have assumed a more or less linear development, recognizing but disregarding differences within the speech community. Yet we know by experience that no speech community of any size--and the size may be only a few hundred speakers--is without regional and social distinctions. Different communities use the language differently; some speakers are recognized as using it better than others do. The larger the speech community, the more complicated are the relationships between regional and social varieties.

Regional differences may arise in a variety of ways. The classical explanation--which has been used to explain the differences in Modern German, before the new *Wölkerwänderung* after World War II--is that of the original settlement by a group speaking a particular dialect of the same language. The population mixture in all of the early American settlements makes this explanation less cogent here, but such groups have left their traces. We can think of the Ulster Scots in Western Pennsylvania, and less significantly in the Southern uplands and the South Midland derivatives to the west; of the Irish fishermen on Beaver Island in Lake Michigan and in various coves along the Newfoundland coast; of the East Anglian influence, through the early Puritans, on the speech of New England, especially east of the Connecticut River; and in the American Middle West, of the preservation of New England speechways in the Western Reserve around Cleveland and in the Marietta speech-island where the Muskingum flows into the Ohio.

Settlements of speakers of a foreign language also leave their impact on a local dialect. The Palatinate Germans who settled in Eastern Pennsylvania about 1700 have influenced to some degree the English of their area, not only in vocabulary but also in pronunciation, in syntax and in intonation. In similar fashion the Scandinavians in Minneapolis have markedly influenced English intonation; even complete monolinguals cannot escape acquiring the speech-tune of the Swedish-Americans they played with as children. So have the Cajans of southwestern Louisiana influenced the intonation of Louisiana English, and--on all but the most educated level--caused a loss of final consonant clusters and most inflectional endings.

Regional dialects also reflect historical patterns of migration and communication. In Germany the Rhine has disseminated the South German speech forms northward, and vice versa; in the United States the Mississippi has done likewise. In the Middle West, settlers from New England followed the shores of Lake Erie westward and did not cross the swamplands of the Maumee and Kankakee, while settlers from the Upland South moved north along the tributaries of the Ohio, taking up holdings in the bottom-lands; today, despite subsequent industrialization, the speech of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois is split between Yankee and Southern highland. Conversely, even what now seems a trivial geographical barrier could inhibit the spread of settlement and speech: Chesapeake Bay isolated the Delmarva Peninsula from the focal area of the Virginia Tidewater and Piedmont; the Virginia Blue Ridge limited the westward spread of plantation culture, so that the Shenandoah Valley was settled by migration from western Pennsylvania, and in Vermont the crest of the Green Mountains marks the division between Eastern and Western New England speechways.

If a cultural focus exists, its speech forms spread into the surrounding countryside or even leap rural areas to become established in what one could call satellite cities. The prestige of Boston has led to the establishment of its speech as the model for Eastern New England, and as a type to imitate in much of the northern United States; Philadelphia dominates Eastern Pennsylvania and Pittsburgh the western half of the state; the cultivated speech of Richmond and other Virginia Piedmont cities has been emulated not merely in the Shenandoah Valley but in cities of eastern North Carolina and as far west as Charleston, West Virginia. New York seems to be an exception, its vocabulary has spread but not its pronunciation, possibly because the city has for so long boasted very large foreign-language concentrations.[9] Where communities have been geographically or culturally isolated, of course, the opposite is true: the speech of the Maine coast, the Southern Appalachians, or northeastern North Carolina does not spread, and in fact gives way to outside models as these remote areas become accessible.

Political boundaries, old and new, are reflected in Europe as limits of pronunciations or words; they are so recent in the United States, and so ineffective on the movement of people and goods, that they seldom cause linguistic differences--though with purely political terms, such as the Ontario reeve, 'township officer,' linguistic and political limits may coincide. But in an indirect way, as in the quality of a school system, state boundaries may be significant. Folk pronunciations and folk grammatical forms survived much more strongly in Western Maryland and West Virginia than in Pennsylvania, though the early settlers were the same kinds of people and the easy routes of communications cross the state boundaries; but Pennsylvania had an earlier and deeper commitment to public education than the states further south.

By now it is possible to summarize in some detail the kinds of regional differences that appear in American English. In addition to the usual features of grammar, pronunciation and vocabulary, there are probably regional variations in proxemics, haptics, kinesics, paralanguage and suprasegmentals, though no systematic statement is possible. The entomologist Henry K. Townes has noted that some hand gestures seem to occur only in the South Carolina Piedmont; Southern speech seems to have a wider range of stress and pitch than the speech of other regions, especially the dialects of the Middle West; the so-called "Southern drawl" does not reflect a slower tempo--for Southerners normally speak more rapidly than Middle Westerners--but rather this heavier stress, combined with prolongation of the heavily stressed syllables and shortening of the weak stressed ones.

Within the pronunciation of American English, there is only one major difference in the system of phonemes: most dialects contrast unrounded /a/ and rounded /ɔ/, as cot and caught, but some do not. Where the contrast does not exist, some dialects--Eastern New England, Western Pennsylvania, the St. Louis area--have a low-back rounded vowel, while others--the Upper Peninsula of Michigan, northern Minnesota, western Canada--have a low-central or low-back unrounded one. Until recently, some dialects in the area of New England settlement had a falling diphthong /iu/ in such words as blue, suit, grew, where most speakers of American English have /u/, and in such words as due, tube, new, student, where some regions have /u/ and others have /ju/; however, the /iu/ is generally considered old fashioned, and it is rapidly disappearing.

Although general structural differences in the pronunciation systems of dialects are rare, conditioned structural differences are more common. As we have indicated, the consonant sequences /tj-, dj-, nj-, stj-/--in such words as *tube*, *due*, *new*, *student*--simply do not occur in some regions, though all of these consonants are found in all American dialects. Dialects that contrast /a/ and /ɔ/, as in *cot* and *caught*, may not have the contrast before /-r/, as in *barn* and *born*; this is especially true in the St. Louis area, in parts of the Southwest, and in the Rocky Mountains. All varieties of American English contrast /ɔ/ and /o/, as in *law* and *low*, but before /-r/, as in *horse* and *hoarse*, the contrast is retained only in parts of the South. Again, only in parts of the South and some Atlantic seaboard Yankee areas--and probably not so common there as it used to be--does one find the contrast between *met*, *mat*, and *mate* maintained before intervocalic /-r-/, in *merry*, *marry* and *Mary*; from Cleveland west these three words are generally homonyms. And in the Charleston area there seems to be only one front vowel before postvocalic /-r/ or its derivative /ə/, so that *fear* and *fair*, *ear* and *air* are homonyms.

The phonemes may differ in phonetic shape, /e/ in *date* is an up-gliding diphthong with a high beginning [eI] in the South Midland, and up-gliding diphthong with a low beginning [ɛ I] in the Delaware Valley and the Pittsburgh area, a monophthong [e·] in the Pennsylvania German area and an ingliding diphthong [e.ə] in the South Carolina Low-Country. The /ɔ/ of *law*, *dog* has a high beginning and an in-glide in much of the Middle Atlantic Seaboard, inluding old-fashioned New York City speech; in much of the South and South Midland, it has a low beginning with an up-glide and increasing rounding.

More familiar are differences in incidence of phonemes. Up-state New York has /a/ in *fog*, *hog* and *on*; Pennsylvania has /ɔ/. The fish *crappie* has /a/ in the stressed syllable in Michigan, /æ/ in South Carolina. The North and North Midland prevailingly have /-s-/ in greasy and /I/ in *creek*; the South and South Midland have /-z-/ and /i/.

Differences in inflection are less frequent than in pronunciation. Systematic differences are very rare: a few British dialects retain the old second person singular *thou*, *thy*, *thine*, *thee*; some American dialects have developed a new second person plural, *you-all*, *you-uns*, *youse*, *mongste-ye*, *oona*, though none of these has standing in formal writing and only *you-all* has achieved the dignity of standard informal status; possibly some dialects have lost the distinctiveness of the third singular present indicative -*s* and consistently have either -*s* or zero throughout the present.[10] In the shape of the morpheme there are more differences: standard *drank* as a preterit, versus *drunk* and *drinkt*; standard *climbed* versus *clim*, *clum*, *clome*, *cloom* and the like; and on the standard level, such variations as between *kneeled* and *knelt* or between *dove* /dov/ and *dived*.

It is notorious that the description of English syntax is less adequate than that of its pronunciation or inflections. But even at this point we can recognize some regional patterns. In the South and South Midland such compounded auxiliaries as *might could* and *used to could* are common in educated informal speech; the New England settlement area forms the negative of *ought* by the periphrastic *hadn't ought*; in eastern Kentucky used to has become a sentence-initial adverb, as in *used to everybody around here baked their own bread*.

Regional differences in vocabulary still abound, despite the homogenizing effect of Twentieth Century urban civilization. Perhaps few of our students today would recognize the Northern *whippletree* or Midland *singletree* by any name, and urban living has probably prospered *dragon fly* and *earthworm* at the expense of such regional designations as Northern *darning needle*, South Midland-Southern *snake doctor* and Southern coastal *mosquito hawk*, or Merrimac Valley *mudworm*, Pennsylvania German *rainworm*, Southern mountain *redworm*. But a dry cleaning establishment in Boston is a *cleanser*; the New Orleans *poorboy*, a sandwich on a small loaf of bread, is a *submarine* in Boston, a *grinder* in upstate New York, a *hero* in New York city, a *hoagy* in Philadelphia; the grass strip between sidewalk and and street, still unnamed in some regions, is a *boulevard* in Minneapolis, a *tree belt* in Springfield, Massachussetts, a *tree lawn* in Cleveland and a *devil strip* in Akron. And similarly differences in meanings persist. It may be only academic that in the Carolina mountains a *corn dodger* is a small loaf, in the coastal plain a *dumpling*, in Savannah a *pancake* and in Brunswick, Georgia, a *hush puppy*; but one who customarily uses *brat* to describe a noisy child may run into difficulties in parts of Indiana where it denotes a bastard, and the Middle Westerner used to ice cream in a *milk shake* will be disappointed in Boston, where it contains only milk and syrup.

If the basis of regional dialects is the fact that communities or regions differ in their history, the basis of social dialects is that people of different social standing in a given sommunity will use different forms, and that the status of the linguistic forms will be determined by the standing of their users in the community.

Although this general principle has been recognized for generations, the procedures for discussing the correlation between speech differences and differences in status have been systematically worked out only in recent years, and are still being refined. For a long time the difference between what was good and what was bad was more a matter of the observer's prejudices than of his observations. However, with Fries's American English Grammar (1940) and the American Linguistic Atlas project (1933-, with the first publication in 1939), it has become customary to identify the social status of informants first, by non-linguistic means, and then to describe, simply, the forms they use. A further refinement has been recently introduced by William Labov, in his dissertation The Social Stratification of English in New York City (Washington, 1966), by limiting himself to a smaller number of variables, by obtaining examples in a variety of contexts--ranging from the reading of potentially minimal pairs to the account of an incident in which the informant thought he was going to be killed--and informants' identifications of the social status of particular variants. Labov has revealed that in pronunciation New Yorkers have a considerable gap between their target and their actual usage; whether or not such a gap exists in other regions--I suspect it is less important in the South than in the urban Northeast--can be determined only by further investigation. But whatever the answer, Labov has already rendered the profession an invaluable service by providing a kind of instrument for answering questions that have long been felt.

Although the situation in any given community is far more complex, a working evaluation of social dialects starts with a threefold classification:

1. Uneducated, or folk speech.
2. Common speech--in the more general sense of everyday usage of the average citizen, not in the Southern pejorative sense.
3. Educated, cultivated, or standard speech.

It is from the last group that speech with national prestige has developed. In the European situation, as we have pointed out, there is often a single prestigious variety of the language--in origin, normally the upper-class speech of the capital or the surrounding area, or of some other important center. In the New World, on the other hand, there are a number of prestigious regional varieties, deriving from regional cultural traditions; one has only to think of the differences in the speech of the last five college-educated Presidents: Calvin Coolidge (western New England), Herbert Hoover (northern Middle Western, modified by travel), Franklin Roosevelt (Hudson Valley), John F. Kennedy (Boston), Lyndon Johnson (southern Texas).

When we have discovered the principal dialect levels in our society, and their regional variants, we must still observe a few cautions. First, the social distance between levels is not the same in all communities. In, say, the older plantation communities, the distance between common and cultivated--the distance between plain, everyday people and the élite--was greater than that between folk and common. On the other hand, in such urban centers as Detroit, Cleveland and Chicago, the distance between uneducated speech and common speech is greater than that between common and cultivated. In New York City the spacing between the various levels may be fairly wide; in a small Midwestern town without heavy industry it may be narrow.

Second, who is or is not cultivated depends on local standards, and is more or less relative. It is only a slight exaggeration to cite the experience of a graduate student from Georgia who went with his Harvard classmates to a performance of Tobacco Road. In their discussion afterwards, one of the New Englanders asked if Jeeter Lester and his family were really typical of rural Georgia. "Hell, no!" exclaimed the Georgian. "Back home we'd call people like that the country club set." It is very likely that in terms of absolute education and cultural exposure a storekeeper in a college community like Ann Arbor or Chapel Hill would rank above the local doctor or superintendent of schools in a county seat in southern West Virginia.

Third, local mores differ strikingly in the tolerated differences between formal and informal educated speech. Where social differences are based on tradition and on family status, as among the "county" families of England and their analogues in the older parts of the American South, informal cultivated speech addressed to equals or other intimates may differ remarkably from the norms of formal expository prose. For Middle Western suburbs, one may agree with the melancholy observation of James H. Sledd that "any red-blooded American would prefer incest to ain't"; but in a community like Charleston one may encounter ain't a hundred times a day in conversation among the proudest families. So the educated Midwesterner often considers the informal speech of the educated Southerner as very careless; the educated Southerner, in turn, missing the familiar conversational cues to informality, often considers the conversation of educated Middle Westerners as strained and anxious. In short, each suspects the other's cultural credentials. Perhaps it is inevitable in an ostensibly open society that covert class markers become more significant as the overt ones disappear.

Regardless of the degree of difference in a locality, there seem to be two basic situations in which social dialects arise. The most familiar one is that in which different groups within the same community acquire different status, thanks to differences in education and wealth and power, so that the speech of one group is deemed worth emulating and that of other groups is not. This is the situation that has developed over the years in the small towns of much of New England, Upstate New York, and the Southern Uplands; it is probably the same kind of situation out of which the manners and speech of the gentry acquired status in rural England.

The other situation, perhaps more common in our industrialized and urbanized society, is that in which groups of original settlers differ in their social status or a large group of new immigrants may acquire a peculiar status in the community. Most of the time this peculiar status is that of social inferiority, though we can all think of the exception, the outsiders who bring social prestige with them--the English civil servant in the colonies; the Swedish pastor in Minnesota; the proper Bostonian in Rochester, New York; the Richmond family in Charleston, West Virginia. But these are atypical. The social dialect problems created by immigration are of three basic kinds:

1) The speech of those whose native language is something different from that of the community, whether Yiddish, Cajan French, Puerto Rican Spanish, or Hungarian.

2) The speech of groups who use a non-standard dialect from the same region; a classical example is the speech of the rural Southern Negroes or poor whites who come to cities like Savannah or Birmingham in search of better jobs.

3) The third situation involves the migration into one region of speakers of substandard dialects of another region. Here we have not only the problem of clearly recognizable social differences, but that of regional ethnocentrism: of the tendency to look upon what is regionally different as ipso facto inferior. Detroiters often overtly try to eradicate West Virginia vowels (or what they think are West Virginia vowels); South Carolinians often remark--not so publicly as Detroiters, because they have a tradition of greater politeness, or at least of a wry diffidence in such matters--that to their ears educated Middle Westerners sound like uneducated Southerners, since the strong post-vocalic /-r/ in barn and beard is in the South traditionally associated with poor white speech. To this category belong the language problems of Appalachian whites and Southern Negroes in such Northern and Western cities as New York, Cleveland, Chicago and Los Angeles.

It is in this last situation that historical and regional and social differences intersect. For example, in much of Southern England the uninflected third singular present indicative, as he do, is found in old-fashioned rural speech. This feature must have been brought to all of the American colonies. However, it is unevenly distributed today, because of differences in the cultural situation. The Southern colonies were more rural than the rest, more dependent on agriculture for a longer time, and on money-crop agriculture that required a great deal of low-grade hand labor--cotton and tobacco. The average income in the South is still lower than that in other regions; Southerners travel less; they have, on the average, fewer years of schooling and that of an inferior quality to what is available in other regions. It is therefore not surprising that such forms as he do are today more widely distributed in the South and South Midland than in other dialect regions, simply because the conditions there were more favorable to their survival.

But this not all. Within the South itself, a similar cultural differential operated to the disadvantage of the Negro--long enslaved, and discriminated against even after Emancipation. For a long time the Southern Negro population was more rural than the Southern white, more confined to agriculture and to the more menial kinds of agricultural work. The Southern Negro was less given to travel; his income was--and is--lower than that of his white neighbor; schooling is for fewer years and of poorer quality. For this reason, in the South, such forms as he do will be heard from a greater proportion of Negroes than of whites. And since, in recent years, the migrants from the South to Northern and Western urban areas are more likely to be Negroes than whites, and Negroes are more likely to be identified as recent migrants, in such areas forms like he do are likely to be considered as simply Negro speech forms, though historically they are regional forms widely disseminated in southern England, and regionally in the United States they are characteristically Southern. Though the origins of Negro dialects in the United States are undoubtedly more complicated than Nineteenth Century observers suggested--Lorenzo Turner's Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect (Chicago, 1949) has been particularly helpful in providing a new perspective--it is clear that, for the most part, Negro usages that differ from middle-class white practice are largely the result of this kind of selective cultural differentiation.[11]

Our knowledge of none of these three dimensions--historical, regional and social--is so complete that we can close our eyes to the need of adding further data. Yet even now we know enough to provide a richer understanding to all those who are concerned with dimensions of usage--whether they are interested in dictionary labeling, school programs, or simply the phenomena of cultural history and social structure. If our statements are more complicated than some of our friends would wish, the fault is not in our science but in the tangled web of human relationships.

NOTES

[1] Statements about American regional dialects are drawn principally from the archives of the Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada, by permission of the American Council of Learned Societies. Many details have appeared in previous derivative studies, notably Hans Kurath, _A Word Geography of the Eastern United States_ (Ann Arbor, 1949), E. Bagby Atwood, _A Survey of Verb Forms in the Eastern United States_ (Ann Arbor, 1953), and Kurath and R. I. McDavid, Jr. _The Pronunciation of English in the Atlantic States_ (Ann Arbor, 1961).

[2] Notably in John S. Kenyon, "Cultural Levels and Functional Varieties of English," _College English_ 10.31-36 (October, 1948); Martin Joos, _The Five Clocks_ (Bloomington, Indiana, 1962), Harold B. Allen, _Readings in Applied English Linguistics_, 2d ed., (New York, 1964), pp. 272-6.

[3] Examples have been cited by the late J. R. Firth, from British officers in India, by Kenneth L. Pike, from a variety of situations, and from my own experiences in the American South.

[4] The expectations extend to other behavior as well. The political backlash of 1966, among white middle-class and working-class voters was intensified by the way these expectations were disregarded by the irresponsible dress and behavior of certain well advertised liberal groups, such as the Berkeley Left and the Chicago Students Against the Rank--beards, stringy hair, sloppy clothing, noise and general boorishness. The invasion of lower middle-class Chicago suburbs by such groups did nothing to further desegregation of private housing; nor did similar invasions of the South in 1964 and 1965 further the civil liberties cause in that region. It will be noted that participants in the original sit-in movements in the South won a great deal of local respect for their essential cause by carefully observing local conventions in such non-essentials as dress and personal grooming, and thus providing a striking contrast with the local poor whites who opposed them.

[5] Edward T. Hall, *The Silent Language* (New York, 1967), and *The Hidden Dimension* (New Yor, 1966); Ray Birdwhistell, *Kenesics* (Louisville, 1956); Henry Lee Smith, Jr., and Robert E. Pittenger, "A Basis for Some Contributions of Linguistics to Psychiatry," *Psychiatry* 20.61-78 (1957); George L. Trager, "Paralanguage: a First Approximation," *Studies in Linguistics* 13.1-12 (1958); Robert E. Pittenger, Charles F. Hockett and John J. Danehy, *The First Five Minutes* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1960); William M. Austin, "Some Social Aspects of Paralanguage," *Canadian Journal of Linguistics*, 11.31-39 (1965). The last also appears in *Communication Barriers for the Culturally Deprived*, Cooperative Research Project 2107, U.S. Office of Education, 1966.

[6] A phoneme is a minimal distinctive unit in the sound system; as any reader knows, there are various competing analyses of the phonemes of English. In this paper the phonemic transcriptions, in slashed, follow the analysis of Kurath and McDavid, *The Pronunciation of English in the Atlantic States*; phonetic transcriptions are in square brackets.

[7] A morpheme is a minimum meaningful form; it may be derivational, as for the making of abstract nouns from adjectives, or inflectional, as for the forming of the plural.

[8] For detailed discussions see, for example, Leonard Bloomfield, *Language*, (New York, 1933); Charles F. Hockett, *A Course in Modern Linguistics* (New York, 1958); Thomas Pyles, *The Growth and Development of the English Language* (New York, 1964).

[9] Dialect mixture has been so common in American English from the beginning that consistent leveling in the present is probably rare.

[10] *Language* 40.473, (1964).

[11] Of course the same forces would also help to preserve features of ancestral languages. As Turner points out, the relative isolation--geographical and social--of the Gullah Negroes of South Carolina and Georgia has preserved many relics of West African languages, and some of these could reinforce forms derived from non-standard English dialects. The complex backgrounds of American Negro dialects require intense investigations.

CULTURE, CLASS AND THE DISADVANTAGED

This section brings to the reader's attention some observations about the society in which he lives. There are three parts: a description of the elements of culture, a look at the class structure, and semi-fictionalized accounts of a representative middle-class white boy, a hill-boy, a Puerto Rican boy, and a Negro boy all living in a Northern metropolis.

In developing background for this section I was aided by Prof. Hans. O. Mauksch, formerly Dean of Liberal Arts at IIT, now on the faculty of the University of Missouri, and Richard Chamberlin, Assistant Dean of Liberal Arts. I have leaned heavily on the work of Edward T. Hall and other colleagues. None of them are responsible for the shortcomings of the section.

A. L. Davis

Culture

The greatest difficulty in examining one's own culture is that so much of what goes on is outside-of-awareness. We are used to doing things in certain ways and to making value judgments according to the well-oiled grooves of habit.

Our idiosyncratic mannerisms illustrate this (see section on non-verbal communication). We are generally quite unaware of our body-stance, of how we use our hands and feet, or of our facial expressions and twitches. Even our own voices sound strange. The common experience, "That's not me," when we first hear our own voice on tape, or the shock of recognition when we are mimicked vocally or in pantomime are evidence. Dentists testify that patients seldom realize that they grit their teeth.

Nearly all this behavior is learned by unconscious imitation or fades from consciousness because it becomes so habitual we no longer do it thinkingly. We learn our space relationships by observing others and by precept. "Don't crowd me," "Quit looking over my shoulder," "Quit breathing on me" are all commands which cause a child to keep a "proper" distance, one that other members of his culture feel comfortable with. Similarly "Quit your whining," "Don't raise your voice to me," "Speak up," "Sit up straight," and hundreds of such admonishments reinforce the observations of the child about what is expected of him.

Adults in our culture who talk too loud are considered brash or vulgar, those who crowd us are pushy, those who slouch are disrespectful or shiftless. In another culture the loud talker may be thought assertive or positive, the crowder to be interested, the lounger to be insouciant.

We can describe other aspects of our behavior more easily than our non-verbal communications, but it doesn't occur to us to do so. We assume, for example, that it is natural for meals to end with desserts. Our children must finish the rest of their dinners before they can have them. Dieters give up desserts with reluctance and search for non-fattening substitutes. A Chinese formal dinner ends not with dessert but with a light soup. Sweets are eaten during the dinner or between meals and the concept of dessert is lacking.[1]

In a similar way we establish routines for work chores which make our tasks seem easier, doing them in a fixed order and having everything we need handy. Conflicts arise when people have different notions about order, scheduling and handiness. The bride and mother-in-law living together have adjustment crises, and they must learn to compromise. Recruits in the military service react scornfully to doing tasks "by the numbers." The wisdom of experience has taught the service that this is the only sure way to get work done efficiently.

These routines, these patterns, form a cultural glue uniting the members of a society. When individuals of one culture are intimately exposed to a radically different one they may experience cultural shock, incapacitating them so severely that they cannot function. Even those intellectually prepared for new situations facing them, experience cultural rub, a nagging irritation which brings on cultural fatigue. Our Foreign Service knows this problem. Personnel are given home leave, reassigned periodically and supported with modest Stateside comforts.

When we think about members of other cultures or subgroups of our own culture, we usually have recourse to stereotypes. Latins are vivacious and gay, Scots are dour, Germans are authoritarian, Japanese are clever. For some Europeans, Americans are loud, over-familiar and money-mad. Stereotype-thinking seriously handicaps understanding.

Another source of over-simplification is the cozy idea that all people are the same if we only get down underneath the surface. What we really mean is that they are all like us! Carl Sandburg's eloquent prologue to Steichen's _The Family of Man_ says men everywhere are born and die, work, sleep, have fun, pray and hope.[2] This is true, but the patterns these activities take are often so different from our own that they may puzzle, amuse, or irritate us.

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[1] Buwei Yang Chao, _How to Cook and Eat in Chinese_ (New York: 1945) Chaps. 1 and 21.

[2] Edward Steichen, _The Family of Man_, (New York: 1955).

Culture is the learned behavior of man. It permits him to cope with his environment, to live in productive association with his fellows, and to hand down his achievements to generations following him. During the eons that have passed since the first appearance(s) of the tool-maker and speaker (homo faber and homo loquens), culture patterns have developed in striking different ways; the extraordinary ingenuity of the Eskimo in solving the challenge of a harsh climate, the navigational feats of the Polynesians, the victualling of a great city, all make possible life patterns of markedly diverse shapes.

If the culture pattern of one group is quite distinct from those of other groups we speak of it as a culture, if the differences are judged minor we call it a sub-culture. Of necessity these are relative terms.

European culture in its broadest outlines is a continuation of an ancient Mediterranean cultural blend. It has spread to all except the most remote tribes of the world, mixed with the cultures of Asia, and has been transplanted to newly settled colonies.

Contacts between cultures result in cultural borrowing. We have seen the spread of the great religions--of Christianity, Buddhism, Judaism and Islam--, of inventions--, coinage now nearly universal, literacy, the wheel, and the machine, of codified law and governmental systems.

Contacts also result in cultural extinction. The modern Eskimo uses a .30 caliber rifle, a snowmobile, an outboard motor, has disputes handled by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police and the courts, trades at Hudson's Bay posts, attends church and drinks whiskey. He has become dependent upon European culture for his well-being. The entire culture seems headed toward complete assimilation, a fate which has overtaken many, perhaps hundreds of others, since prehistoric times.

Culture is so complex that we need some way of getting at it. In The Silent Language Edward T. Hall includes a Map of Culture. The result of years of collaboration with George L. Trager, it sets forth ten categories, all shared to some extent with the higher animals. Although it is not possible here to give a thorough analysis of the ideas Hall presents, we can indicate many of the implications of the classification.[3]

The ten categories are Communication, Society, Work, The Sexes, Space, Time, Learning, Recreation, Protection and Use of Materials. Animals communicate in calls, growls, barks, and in their physical attitudes; they form social and family groups, find food and shelter, stake out areas and trails, schedule their visits to waterholes, teach their young to hunt, engage in mock fights, organize for their defense, and build nests.

That cultures have different patterns for the categories is evident. They also attach different values to them. We rank materials and technology very high, for another culture protection may be primary, or having enough food. Or groups within the "same" culture rank some of them higher than others--punctuality and planning, for example. Furthermore, parts of a category may be ascendant: religion (as a form of protection) over health. In this country endowments to theological institutions have shriveled while medical research foundations have thrived. Subdivisions, because a culture may particularly value them, may dominate several categories. The dance may be at the same time recreational, a special form of communication and a primary form of religious expression and experience.

Every category is related to every other one. To generalize from our own culture, now a bit anachronistic, the Sexes share the same language, but women don't swear so much and have feminine mannerisms. The family is organized with the father as head, his class status determines that of the family and he is expected to dominate the out-of-the-house social relationships. The father supports the family, the mother rears the family and does the housework. The male treats sex more casually; the female is carefully protected from other males. The kitchen is woman's territory, the man has his favorite spot, workshop or study, or reclining chair with a good view of the TV. We celebrate Mother's Day and Father's Day; the man's workday is compartmentalized, but "women's work is never done." The mother teaches the daughters to cook, sew, keep house and act like ladies; the father teaches the sons handyman chores, often introduces them to sports, and to act like men. Educational institutions prepare the sexes for different occupations. Men and boys have a much greater interest in sports; women, in the arts. Men must protect the family from outside threats, women protect the family's health. The men control the real property, "own" the family car, and are the experts-in-residence for repair of all the mysterious gadgetry found in the home.

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[3] Edward T. Hall, The Silent Language, (New York: 1959).

A category or activity is handled informally, formally or technically. Informal activity is random or unstylized, formal activity governed by rules, conventions and rituals, technical activity, closely analyzed and thought out. Children playing with a ball may start out just fooling around, but arguments soon break out "You don't play fair!", "It's my turn!," and rules are agreed on. In this age of televised baseball, the little boy pitcher adjusts his cap, pulls up his pants and winds up, almost an exact mimic of a big leaguer's ritual. The grown-up game is an intricate pattern of rules and rituals. It is the combination of the expected forms with the unexpected--the big inning, the home run, the no-hitter that fascinates the spectators. The game is also highly technical. Every movement is studied carefully to better performance, records are kept in minute detail: Abernathy hits high inside curves to right field. The Japanese have been able to wed the formal and the technical. Possibly this accounts for the high popularity of baseball there.

All highly industrialized nations have had to become technical about materials and devices. The genius of the production line is that the highly complex has been broken down into its simplest components so that the unskilled workers can perform nearly all operations. Their muscles are extensions of the work designs of the engineers.

This sketch is not offered for an exhaustive cultural analysis, but as a framework by which the reader may become aware of cultural differences. The following suggestive questions may be expanded by the reader to make a more comprehensive check-list:

> Communication - What are the patterns of communication within the group, between groups? What use is made of writing? What are conversational topics and how are they handled? Is there a ritualized kind of communication between the sexes, between age groups? Are certain topics

avoided? How do language shifts in style indicate group membership?

Society - Of what importance is social status? How is it shown? To what extent does family background affect status? How is status changed or how is social power acquired? To what extent is physical of intellectual ability respected? Economic power? Moral virtue? How are they expressed? Are relations between kin especially close; are kin given rights above all others? What is the family structure? Are there particular group memberships?

Work - What are the favored occupations? What is the relationship between boss--employee? Of what importance is independence as compared to being part of a larger organization? What is work success? To what extent are employment aspirations and possibilities compatible? What value does work have in itself; keeping busy? What kinds of rewards are sought through work?

The Sexes - What are considered activities proper to a man, to a woman? How is sex treated? What are attitudes toward sex? How accurate is sexual information?

Space - What is value given to privacy? Are there particular areas for certain activities? Are public areas available, utilized? How is territoriality established?

Time - How is the daily routine organized? Of what importance is being "on time"? Of finishing work tasks "on time"? What does "on time" mean? Is future planning important, possible? Is time organized into chunks? Are some activities restricted to certain times of the year? Are rites-of-passage observed?

Learning - What is proper upbringing? Who teaches it? Of what importance is institutional education? Is learning valued for its own sake? Is book-learning assigned a minor role as opposed to experience and practical learning? Are the learned treated with deference?

Recreation - How do people have a good time? What are patterns of informal play? What are joking relationships? Are games and athletics part of the usual activity? Are the Arts part of the recreational activities?

Protection - What is physical, social, economic or spiritual security? How do law and government, medical and health measures, employment, churches provide this? What efforts does the individual make to insure his security?

Materials - Are special goods used or produced? How is material comfort defined? How are technical innovations produced? Received?

In the following discussion of class and of lives of the four adolescent boys many of the above questions will be touched upon, but not necessarily in the order given. The reader may wish to refer back to the categories.

The Classes

A class structure is a cultural universal. In "primitive" societies some one has the task of leader, others have priestly duties, warriors and hunters are accorded varying degrees of prestige depending upon their skills and their valor. Such roles tend to be perpetuated in families, relatives and descendents of chiefs elevated above others, the sons of priests carrying on as manipulators of the unknown and as channels for the transmission of religious lore. The powerful warrior and hunter can make advantageous marriages for himself and his offspring. At the other extreme there are those who become dependent because of misfortune, and in many societies there may be slaves and their families, often captives from other tribes. Skilled specialists develop: witch-doctors, experts on tribal law, story-tellers, artists, dancers and musicians, makers of weapons and traders.

When power, prestige and specializations become inheritable family property, an exclusive caste system is born. The extreme example is that of India with its hierarchy from Brahmin to Untouchable and a bewildering variety of sub-castes, enforced by religious sanctions. Socializing between the castes is highly formalized and inter-caste social mobility impossible. People marry within their caste, eat only with their caste, and follow traditional occupations. Those who violate their caste status are subject to severe punishments.[4]

Chaucer, in his Prologue to the Canterbury Tales, gives us a vivid description of the caste-class system of England in the later Middle Ages, representing ranks and vocations from the aristocratic knight to the lowly plowman, In the Medieval romance the kitchen boy who turns out to be morally and physically superior, also turns out to be a prince abducted in infancy.

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[4] Thomas Welby, The Asians, Their Heritage and Their Destiny (New York: 1963), Chapter 11. The entire book is of interest because of its treatment of highly literate cultures contrasting with that of the West.

Although it has no titled aristocrats, the United States has both caste and class. Inherited wealth and position with easy access to excellent education including the social graces keep those families who occupy the level of greatest prestige at the top, while general education, scholarship programs, and economic opportunities for those of business acumen keep the social lines fluid. Racial and religious prejudice, on the other hand, severely limit upward mobility.

The most widely known studies of American social classes are those of W. Lloyd Warner, who finds six: upper-upper, lower-upper, upper-middle, lower-middle, upper-lower and lower-lower. Besides being clumsy, the nomenclature is unfortunate in that most Americans like to characterize themselves as belonging to the middle-classes. "Middle-class" continues to be used as a catch-all by the press for all but those at the extreme ends of the scale. When the terms are changed to "upper, middle, working-class and lower," slightly more than half of Americans call themselves working-class.[5]

There have been many attempts to find reliable class indicators. In the 1930's F. Stuart Chapin used material possessions as exemplified in the family's best room, since they were believed to correlate highly with other criteria like income, participation in community affairs, and cultural level.[6] This "Living-Room Scale" was the essence of simplicity. The investigator counted the windows with draperies, the armchairs, and the bookcases, with points added or subtracted for condition, order and harmony, the newspapers and magazines subscribed to; fireplaces and hardwood flooring yielded extra points, while sewing machines or alarm clocks were minus features. Although far too much reliance must be given to the investigator's opinions, such a scale would, no doubt, still be of utility in making gross judgments. But mass media have done much to universalize tastes and ubiquitous use of credit plans would necessitate including an inquiry about the finance company's share in the furniture.

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[5] Leonard Reissman, Class in American Society. (New York: 1959), p. 138.

[6] Ibid, p. 118.

The classification of Warner and his followers is based upon occupation, amount and source of income, kind and place of residence, education, organizational and civic relationships, as well as what others in the community think of an individual's status. None of these criteria is completely independent from the others: education may prepare for a high prestige occupation bringing economic rewards permitting expensive housing and so on.

It is doubtful that exact measurements can be found for class. Many factors are necessarily subjective, and the lines between the classes, elastic. The classification of great numbers of people would be unclear. Listing in the Blue Book or the Social Register changes with subsequent editions; the unemployed worker on public relief may find a steady job putting him firmly in the respectable working class. The situation in this country resembles the color spectrum having identifiable areas but no sharp borders.

The number of classes to be set up for a community as well as the class assignment of individuals differ. An impoverished village may have no inhabitant who could be assigned to any class above lower-middle; a metropolis may have six easily recognized classes with numerous sub-groups. A small city M.D. from an "old" and powerful local family, considered well-to-do and at the top of the town's upper-class, might be assigned to the middle class of a larger city.

The Uppers:

This group, consisting of perhaps less than 5% of the population has political economic, cultural, and social influence far in excess of its numbers. Power is its characteristic. When upper-class members enter politics they are likely to do so at a rather high level. The road of political advancement from precinct worker to a public office compatible with their status is too long. Through their social contacts they make their power felt behind the scenes. Their wealth takes them into corporation board rooms. They contribute heavily to the support of symphony orchestras, art museums, the operatic societies, private schools and universities where, as trustees, they approve basic policy.

Their social activities are carefully reported in the newspapers: the coming-out parties, the charity balls, openings of the music season, or any other opportunities for display of furs, jewels, and fine clothes.

Requisite for membership at the very top of the class is belonging to an old important family, which usually means also inherited wealth. It follows that outsiders can be admitted only by marriage, or by the gradual rise of a family, spanning generations. Those who are included in the class without family background share most of the activities and the way-of-life.

Education may be completely in private institutions from nursery school through university, with boarding school for the adolescents.

Uppers belong to private city clubs, yacht clubs and athletic clubs, all of which are open only to applicants meeting the qualifications agreed upon by the members. They belong to fashionable churches, but may not attend regularly.

The most wealthy may maintain multiple residence: an expensive town apartment, a stately house in the country, a winter residence in a warm climate. They travel widely. They are arbiters of good taste.

As to occupation, they may follow any of the professions, hold high government elective or appointive office, be executives in financial or business concerns, manage their holdings or even have no occupation beyond that of dilletante.

The Middles:

The middle group of our society is made up of achievers from the working class or those who have continued in the same status position as their parents. Income is either from business ownership or from salary, possibly supplemented by modest inheritances and investments.

Educational levels range from advanced academic and professional degrees to high school with the median at about the first college degree. They are deeply concerned about the education of their children, see that they do their home-work, visit the schools, take part in PTA, and send them to college.

At the top of this group are the best educated professionals, owners of important local businesses, and managers of important business enterprises. At the lower end of the group are the technically trained--nurses, and opticians, for example--grocery store managers, shop foremen, proprietors of neighborhood stores, gasoline stations, restaurants, and independent farmers.

The range is great and there is no cut-off point at either end of the scale. It is impossible to specify how much gas the station owner must pump or how much land the farmer must own to qualify for inclusion. Educational levels have changed so much in the past forty years that age must also be considered a factor. That is, the 60 year old with a high school education would ordinarily have a higher status than a recent high-school graduate. High wages, job security, and fringe benefits have made it possible for skilled workers to live in the same manner as all except the top group of middles, taking regular vacations, with travel especially in this country, spending a great deal of money on leisure time activities, living in comfortable houses, driving new automobiles, and planning college educations for their children. Placing them in the middle group or at the top of the working class is of little consequence. It is important, however, that millions of citizens have joined the middle class way-of-life. Only a guess can be made of the national percentage of the populace to be called middle class--possibly 30%.

Where there is opportunity the middle class attend plays and concerts, visit art galleries and art fairs; they are the consumers of culture. They read books and the quality magazines. They engage in fund drives, volunteer work and service club activities. They dine out at better restaurants. Church membership is usual.

The city middle-class live in well kept apartments or houses in what the residents would call good neighborhoods. Suburbia with barbecue pit, station wagon, and expensively fed grass is their special habitat. Vacation cottages within easy driving distance may be alternate residences for part of the family during the summer.

The jet-age has made travel to Europe, Mexico, and the Caribbean or even more remote places economically feasible for short vacations. The well-heeled middles go frequently, and even the less-affluent can sometimes include such trips in their plans.

Unifying elements of the middles' activities are getting on with their work and living "decently."

The Workers:

The largest segment of our population is made up of those who work in factories, mines, stores, farms and service jobs. At the top the highest income, prestige, and security go to the skilled who have had specialized training including apprenticeship and to the crew bosses (but see above). Below them come the production workers performing simple repetitive tasks and the workers who do the dirty and hard manual labor. Owners of small family farms and prosperous tenants are at the top of the agricultural group followed by farm hands and the seasonal fruit-vegetable picker and sugar-beet worker. Some white collar workers like file-clerks, store clerks and less successful salesmen belong to this category, as do also nearly all in service occupations: the cooks and waitresses, maintenance man, drivers, mail-carriers, building cleaners and servants. An exhaustive list of occupations would number in the thousands.

Income is from wages, salaries, usually weekly or monthly, commissions, tips and piece-work. Those on salary may fare worse than others, but have steadier employment. Those outside the salary-wage structure have greatly fluctuating incomes: a good week or even a season followed by a bad one. The small farmer, now passing from the national scene, scrambles to make a living for his family depending upon egg and milk checks for store groceries and a cash crop to keep his credit good at the bank. The farm hand regularly does chores for room, board, and pocket-money, but earns more at planting and harvest-time. The migrant may actually have a rather good income for the season that he works but he's faced with unemployment for a large part of the year. The upper level of income overlaps with that of the middle class: a janitor earning as much as a school teacher, a construction worker as much as an accountant. Small business owners sometimes find that their highest paid help make more than they do, tempting them to give up the headaches of ownership. They, however, have the power of being boss and the hope that profits will improve. At the bottom of the working-class are the under-employed and the unemployed available for jobs.

The poverty-stricken could be included with the workers, or separated into a group dependent upon society. The indigent aged and the afflicted subsisting upon meager pensions are often forced to associate with skid-row types because they can afford only the cheapest housing. Families chronically on relief or Aid to Dependent Children are sorted out by their working-class acquaintances according to moral reputations, and those who do not measure up are the no-accounts--families marked by alcoholism, feeble-mindedness, prostitution, crime, and plain shiftlessness.

The educational extremes range from college to illiteracy. Grade school, that is eighth grade for older workers, high school and/or trade school for the younger ones are median levels. College graduates choosing the life of the working man have opted out of the middle class. Nearly unanimously the working class want good education for their children and they leave it pretty much to the schools to carry out the process.

Organized activities are unions, church affairs, or bowling leagues. Most recently community organizations have become effective in creating pressure on City Hall, using as weapons, confrontations, picketing and strikes. But organized activities do not loom large. Resting after a day's work, with the family in front of the TV, beer at the neighborhood tavern, visiting back and forth with relatives and friends, account for most of their spare time.

Housing is as varied as the size of their pay checks, from comfortable suburb to miserable slum. Where choice exists the worker lives in a neighborhood where fellow workmen are close by. The best housing is indistinguishable from that of the lower-middles, spacious, pleasant and meticulously taken care of. The worst housing, overcrowded, wretched both inside and out,is so slowly being replaced by public housing that it may never catch up with the need.

The Parasites:

Outside the regular class structure are the ones who prey upon society, the professional criminals. Indeed, they have a class structure of their own, paralelling that of legitimate society. David P. Maurer's in The Big Con, points out that the confidence man has the highest status. He must be able not only to mingle inconspicuously with the wealthy in plying his trade, but also must have the mental equipment to fleece his victim. At the lowest end of the scale are the punks: pimps, petty thieves and narcotic pushers.[7]

Another way of looking at the structure of American society is interrelated with the stratificational view of the classes, but based rather on what the individual does in society instead of such factors as wealth, family, residence and formal education. It is the contribution of the individual that is important. For instance, the well-to-do matron living a trivial existence but assured of her upper class status is counted as less than an experimental artist seriously trying to find meaningful expression but living in a semi-slum. This view is briefly sketched here, hopefully enough to indicate its validity.

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[7] Of the "grifters" depending upon outwitting their victims or upon their physical dexterity as opposed to "heavy rackets" which involve violence Maurer says:

> "It (the class structure) is stratified much like the upper world, each social level being bounded by rather rigid lines determined largely by three factors: professional standing, income and professional integrity.'
>
> "If we arrange the major criminal professions (each comprising a great number of separate rackets) within the grift into their respective categories, we would have something like this:
>
> I. Confidence men
>   1. Big - con men
>   2. Short - con men
> II. Pickpockets and professional thieves.
> III. Professional gamblers
> IV. Circus grifters
> V. Railroad grifters (surely, an extinct breed now) and other minor professionals."

David P. Maurer, The Big Con, (New York: 1962), p. 142.

Innovators are often called creative. They work at the frontiers of knowledge, they find new solutions, they set our course in new directions. They are artists in the broadest sense and thinkers.

Decision-makers or Evaluators have the gift of choosing among alternatives. As critics they interpret the creative artist to his public, in government they set the course of action. Their judgment in the courts channels society's actions in new ways or counteracts the tendencies of a citizenry to establish its own interpretations of the law.

Organizers are able to work with complex groups either as initiators of group action or as administrators of complex operations. They must be endowed with the gift of making disparate elements work together smoothly.

While recognizing their intellectual superiority our society has no honorary titles (other than honorary degrees) or exclusive academies for them. Sometimes they achieve great wealth, receive prizes and find themselves lionized. The contemporary society may not value them highly--a common fate for the composer, artist, philosopher or writer. Their delayed impact does not diminish their importance; we must only be prepared to admit that their contributions have not been evaluated.

Popularizers take up the innovations when evaluated, thus acting as agents for change. Keepers or Guardians preserve the values of society and revere even its outmoded institutions. Consumers accept that which is provided for them, without making their own value judgments.

An individual will of necessity play several of these roles: an innovative scientist be a consumer or keeper in art; a writer also an evaluator in his own field but a keeper in religion, a consumer in science or technology.

Celebrities are a special group, at times persons of genuine talent or manufactured by shrewd public relations men. The entertainment and political scene contain both. Athletes of unusual prowess are better known than high government officials. The celebrity's opinions and endorsements are eagerly sought after, even when he is no better informed than the man-in-the-street. Except for the very great, the celebrity's fame fades quickly and we wonder "what ever happened to so-and-so?"

Further elaboration of the scheme may bring forth new categories and, doubtless, better labels. Its merit is that it is dynamic while the stratificational view is essentially static despite the upward and downward mobility that takes place.

The patterns of association occurring within a class, which are, of course, one of the primary class markers, also form class attitudes and characteristic styles. We think, talk and act like those we are with most on a footing of equality. "Right thinking" mirrors the self-interest of the class. Only a rare individual escapes from this insidious pressure. Our class is reflected in the subjects we talk about and what we say about them. We have the manners of our class and we do the "right things." But the moulds are many. The professional, for example, is generally middle class and part of his professional sub-class with its special shop-talk as a lawyer, a minister, a doctor, a teacher, as an engineer. His professional training and the layman's deference to his learning make him authoritative even on subjects where he has no competence. The man in business is more likely to be conciliatory because he has learned to subordinate his opinions in deference to those he depends upon for his success. Among the working class, the store-clerk, the cab driver, the factory hand, and the bulldozer operator have differing attitudes and manners. The clerk and driver deal with the public, the clerk closely supervised, the cabbie glorying in his independence. A drill press operator, like the clerk, has a confining job. The clerk's is less monotonous; the drill press operator is slightly more independent since he has no public, and strict supervision is now tempered by union rules. The bulldozer operator has the independence of his trade and the pride of doing a real man's job.

Among the virtues often called middle-class are hard work, honesty, promptness, respect for property, law and elders, thrift and planning ahead, truthfulness, and restraint (nothing in excess). Altogether they include the best features of the Ten Commandments and the Scout Oath. The middle class has no exclusive claim to any of these, though at times they assume different guises.

Hard work, in the puritan ethic, is a virtue in itself and equals success. Logically then the non-worker and the non-successful are not virtuous. Hard physical work is not universally regarded as desirable. The middle and upper classes, to be sure, do little of it. In many occupations there is pride in doing a job that is tough or hazardous. John Henry, that steel-driving man, is a folk-hero, who killed himself in the dangerous C&O Big Bend tunnel trying to keep up with a steam drill. More modern folk-heroes are professional athletes, hard-boiled TV detectives, and six-shooting cowboys. It should come as no surprise that many boys are little attracted to pencil-pushing occupations which they consider effeminate.

Respect for property depends upon whose property is involved. The poor may be destructive of public property: we are dismayed and puzzled when stores are looted. We must constantly remind ourselves that people must feel that they have a stake in the property, a feeling that they own a share of it. The stores are part of an alien, outside establishment. The man who reaches through a broken window to steal a fifth of rye from a liquor store might not think of taking a neighbor's jug. If respect for law means trouble then respect for it is only the respect of fear.

Absolute punctuality as required by factories means little if one has never had a job regulated by a time-clock or has never even owned a clock at home. Thrift in the sense of putting something aside for a rainy day is sheer luxury for a family living in a steady downpour. Planning ahead when there seems nothing to plan for doesn't make good sense. Telling the truth can be an outrageous betrayal or bring painful retaliation.

Good manners include the tipping of hats or organizing a formal wedding. Fortunately we have guides like Emily Post and Amy Vanderbilt to lead us through all the upper-class intracies. It is possible to conceive of such a guidebook for manners among the lower orders. Use of last names would be thought unfriendly; in some groups it isn't good form to ask a stranger for his last name or to inquire about what he does. Entertainment in the home between families not related may seldom be for a regular meal, but be a dropping-in after supper or a snack after bowling.

Informal education is class-related. The working class mother with a houseful of children has no time for foolishness and can't spend her precious time and energy on reasoning with the youngster who is out-of-line. The mores of the class make talk about sex, at least between adults and children "dirty." Frank discussion of this problem is simply unthinkable, even when the parent knows full well that the child is aware of the biological mechanics.

The middle class mother can discuss sex with frankness. Indeed, the line between formal education, the many after school activities, and parent engagement in the middle class child's learning may blur them all into one extended curriculum.

The classes don't really live in separate compartments. Even those we see daily we seldom understand. Do we know how people of another class live, what they believe in, what motivates them? For those of our own group we fill in by putting ourselves in their place thus we have a kind of road map. When the pattern differs we are on a chartless sea. It is ironic that at times we have no more understanding of minority groups whose life styles are not ours than we do of an Amazonian tribe.

There is much popular interest in status symbols. They are of three kinds: the intrinsic or essential life-style, the honorary, granted by others, and the purchasable. The honorary are tangible like the key to the executive washroom, a carpet on the floor of an office of a proper size, an honorary degree, and intangible like the deference with which the individual is treated. The purchasable include world cruises, residences, powerboats, wine cellars, luxury automobiles, all of that which is expensive. The intrinsic markers are the remainder.

Advertisers tell us we signal our competence and social importance by our consumer habits, which are, of course, closely tied to ability to pay. Unfortunately, purchased symbols are easily acquired even though the purchaser runs the risk of crushing debt. They can serve to signal our desire for higher status rather than the status itself, for the truly secure can ignore them. How much mischief the advertiser's world brings about is hard to estimate; but it does have social consequences. The non-affluent excluded from the glamour world are trained to equate the good life with this materialism.

In the United States there have been four principal avenues for upward mobility in social status: the frontier, business enterprise, politics, and education. The frontier is not yet gone as the increase in the population of Alaska since 1950 shows, but it is no longer important. Far more common is moving from state to state to the West, to the East, to the North, to the South in search of better opportunity. The growth of a small shop to a huge corporation, though now less common than formerly when the industrial tycoons were building their fortunes, still goes on. Today advancement within an established enterprise where the exceptionally talented rise to managerial power is more common. A very large proportion of those in public service have risen from humble origins; childhood hardship helps the average voter to identify with them and is made much of. Only limited numbers can be accomodated on our shrinking frontiers, can rise above their competition in business or enter politics. Education is then the main highway.[8]

Until very recently the financial burden of a long educational program and of delayed earning power made it extremely difficult for children of the working class to change their status to upper-middle class. New programs of scholarships and expanding facilities have changed the picture somewhat, but it is still a struggle.

Most common is the upward movement which takes two or three generations from working class to upper middle: the unskilled worker's children take up the trades or become small business men, who then are able to encourage their children to enter the professions or seek careers in business and government of equal importance. Status jumps are seldom spectacular. Parents transfer their aspirations to their children.

The school's responsibility for status changes is now more serious than it has ever been. It must prepare a larger percentage of children for responsible positions and find ways of decreasing the size of the unskilled and semi-skilled groups, so that all can be brought into the regular working force equipped with the skills necessary for steady employment in a technical society. Somehow we must find ways of making all school work purposeful and related to the needs of the society. This all sounds like an argument for trade school training rather than education in the fullest sense. This not intended. Intellectual growth, growth of the imagination, may be of greater importance lest we develop a society of trained seals. The status changes must be possible but are not in themselves goals. The goals are rather in the development of the significant function of the individual: as the individual's worth is enhanced, society itself is enhanced.

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[8] "Mass education, later mass suffrage and mass production, is a leading trait of our code. During the last generation, education has supplemented the frontier as a favorite means of social mobility, for we have continued to define success in terms of mobility rather than in terms of stability." Clyde Kluckhohn, Mirror for Man, (New York: 1944), p. 188.

The Disadvantaged

The changing social conscience of the 60's has forced us to take cognizance of the plight of those millions of our citizens who have not been able to share in the opportunities that the rest enjoy. The high rates of unemployment for those handicapped by near-illiteracy and lack of technical skills make it imperative that we meet this serious challenge. It is not only a matter of our social conscience, it is a matter of practical realism. Adequate housing, health services, legal aid, employment training and high quality education are all urgent.

"Disadvantaged" and "underprivileged" are near synomyms for "poor." Havighurst gives this definition, "Disadvantaged is a relative term. When we speak of a child as being socially disadvantaged we mean that he has a disadvantage relative to some other child. . .it means disadvantaged for living competently in an urban, industrial and democratic society."[9]

Estimates of the number who are poor range from 30 - 50 millions. The largest is Harrington's in his The Other America.[10] Adelaide Jablonsky, who quotes from an Office of Economic Opportunity report, places the figure at between 30 - 35 millions, based upon income of from $1,990 for a non-farm family of two to $6,135 for a family of ten, with farm families $300-$200 less per person depending upon the number of children. Because of the rise in cost-of-living the figure now generally used is $3,300 for an urban family of four. Some families who have larger incomes are poor managers. Some families, who are city-wise, in spite of very low incomes, are able to take advantage of all sorts of free services such as libraries, museums and clinics to the extent that they are poor middle-class.

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[9] Richard J. Havighurst, "Where are the Socially Disadvantaged?" in The Disadvantaged Learner, Staten W. Webster, ed. (San Francisco: 1966), p. 22.

[10] Michael Harrington, The Other America, (New York: 1963).

The disadvantaged poor are very unevenly distributed geographically and ethnically. They include the chronically unemployed coal miners in such pockets of poverty as the Southern mountains, share-croppers, migrant farm-workers, and the ever-increasing masses of urban poor. Ethnically they are Negro, Puerto Rican, Spanish-speaking "Mexican-Americans," wetbacks, American Indians; they are immigrants and old American stock. From 1/3 to 1/2 are non-white. Most of the disadvantaged belong to minority groups identified by their physical or cultural traits.

Just as the middle class has become identified with the pleasant suburbs, the poor are identified with the slums. "Slums" and "ghetto" are not synonomous, Slums are run-down or make-shift housing; they can be rural work-camps, skid rows with their winos and chicken-wire cubicled flop-houses, or over-crowded and old city neighborhoods. Ghettos are places where minorities are forced to live because of social economic and, often, legal restrictions.

Ethnic neighborhoods (Swedes, Polish, Italian, Greek, Hungarian for example) still exist in most large cities. Older people and recent immigrants keep them alive. Here they can buy the foods they are used to, attend church with an old country service, and talk to their friends. The Greek-towns and Little Italies are transplanted little cities where old country customs are still observed.

The schools, public and parochial, have Americanized the children. Few schools have assumed any responsibility for keeping an appreciation of the foreign languages or cultures alive. This has reinforced the general public's pressure for conformity. The second and third generations have lost musch of their ethnic identity. Intermarriage between nationalities have become usual, and the ethnic working class neighborhoods have lost their meaning for them.

Racial prejudice has kept the ghetto alive. Although laws have been enacted to end this discrimination, it may be decades before ghettos disappear. They will continue to preserve their special cultural identities.

In the following section four groups are considered: the disadvantaged Negro, the Puerto Rican, the Appalachian White and for contrast, the well established middle class white in a midwestern city. An extended example is given of a typical adolescent boy from each group.

The City has a population of over two million. It was first settled about 150 years ago by New Englanders. The coming of the railroads made it an important trade center which brought in people from all the midwestern states and large numbers of immigrants--Germans, Irish and Scandinavians followed by southern and eastern Europeans. Since before the Civil War there has been a Negro community in the City, most of whom worked in service jobs as maids, janitors, livery stable hands, sweepers in factories. A very large in-migration of Negroes beginning after World War I, has continued to the present so that nearly one-fourth of the population is Negro. Over 30,000 Puerto Ricans have come to the City in the last decade, and a larger number of Poor Whites from the southern mountains have come since World War II.

Almost all of the descendants of the early families are middle and upper class, though there are still families which have continued in the working class. A common pattern is that part of the family has not been able to advance socially and economically.

The residential patterns of the city are fairly clear-cut. The very wealthy live on large estates along Ridge Drive in the "Hill" section, where they are said to look down on everybody else. The not quite wealthy live in well-defined areas of several parts of the city, some of them rather new developments. At least as many of the affluent live in the suburbs. The ethnic neighborhoods are almost gone although a great many "foreigners" live on the north side where one can find stores specializing in Polish, Greek and Italian foods as well as a few restaurants. These neighborhoods are mostly wood duplexes, and four and six flat buildings. There are large Catholic churches and a very large parochial school system. The Negroes live to the South and east of downtown starting at the edge of the congested business district. Housing there is overcrowded slum, urban renewal high-rise, and on a few streets, attractive well-kept houses. The Puerto Ricans live in an area to the east of the business district, and the Appalachian Whites have taken over an area to the west of it. Nearly all this housing is run-down. A few Negro families have moved into expensive integrated apartment projects and some have bought houses in middle class neighborhoods. An integrated suburb of ranch style houses in the $25,000 and up price range opened eight years ago. It faced the problem of remaining integrated because there is such great demand by Negroes to buy in the suburb. At the south edge of town there is a sprawling slum of weather-beaten cheap wooden tenements and grimy single houses. Originally, workers at a nearby tannery lived there and it has continued to house workers for nearly a hundred years although the tannery is long gone. During Prohibition it acquired notoriety for bootlegging, wide-open gambling and prostitution. At every election there is still a reform movement to do something to clean it up. Ethnically Tannerytown is mixed South European, Negro, Puerto Rican and Mexican.

The City has a diversified industry and has been prosperous. It has been able to absorb most of its newcomers into its work force. And it is struggling hard to find better answers to its housing, educational and employment problems, which seem at times to defy solution.

Hillfolk: The Southern Highlands stretches from the Blue Ridge to the Ozarks and from the Georgia hills to the Ohio River. Its people are mainly the descendants of pre-Revolutionary Pennsylvania Ulster Scots (Scotch-Irish, rather than Scotch plus Irish) and of Poor Whites from Virginia and the Carolines. The available land is poor, and transportation through the hills and hollows difficult.

The small settlements developed a subsistence economy, growing most of their food on small farms, the woods and streams furnishing herbs and folk remedies, fuel and game. The families were prolific, the excess population continuing the migration westward, eventually all the way to California like the fugitives from the Dustbowl in Steinbeck's The Grapes of Wrath, or to the growing industrial cities.

Outside government did little to interfere with their lives except to harass moonshiners. Their remoteness encouraged strong kinship ties, independence, mistrust of authority and of strangers. It was a nearly classless society.

Rich coal deposits brought in workers from the British Isles before the turn of the century and, somewhat later, from eastern and southern Europe. New company towns were built at the pit-heads, with rows of identical houses and company general stores handling over-priced goods; the check-off system insured payment of rent and store charges.

Unionizing put an end to some abuses but there were periods of strike. Except in "captive" mines, owned by or solidly contracted to, steel mills, railroads or power plants, work was irregular. Miners without strong local roots moved on to places where there was a chance of steadier employment. The relatively prosperous 20's were followed by the Depression and then a war period of regular work. Strip mining and mechanization of the pits have now drastically reduced the need for miners. The hills have become an area of endemic poverty and a cultural backwater.

The institutions of church, school and government are all underdeveloped. Ministers preach a hell-fire fundamentalism. Education is sketchy, the teachers poorly prepared and poorly paid, the facilities crude. Government is represented by the county and town officers: the judge and sheriff, the township trustee, the constable and the justice of the peace. Except for aid programs, state and national government is of minor importance.

It could be argued that these institutions were adequate for the simple rural culture. They move into the same neighborhood, the same block, the same building or even into the same apartment. Some remain transients going from city to city or from the City back down home. They maintain in so far as possible their former associations and their subculture.

In the 50's and 60's nearly 50,000 hill people have come to the City. More keep coming, some move on and some return to the hills. Many who have lived here for several years have moved out of the "hillbilly" neighborhood, losing their identity but for their dialect and the ties kept with kinfolk and old friends.

The neighborhood has a small admixture of Puerto Ricans and a few Negroes who predominate in adjacent areas. The apartment buildings are brick six and eight flat low-rises trimmed in stone giving the appearance of solidity; the neighborhood used to be middle-class and somewhat fashionable. The casual sightseer, driving through might not notice that any change has taken place.

The best way to get the feel of the neighborhood is to walk around on a fine day. Hillbillies crowd the streets, the men lounging against the store fronts, the women taking the air with their babies, and tow-headed children playing in the empty lots. Country music blares from the windows and from the taverns. Business is represented by the big chains: Woolworth's, Penny's, Western Auto, Kroger and by the small independent services--the dry-cleaners, laundromats, TV repair shops, gas-stations and quick-meal restaurants. Stores are mostly cash-and-carry, lay-away buying is pushed, and "easy" credit is widely advertized for larger items. The restaurants do a big hamburger business and the taverns thrive on pay-nights.

Employment agencies have large signs in their windows: 70 Men Needed Tomorrow 7 a.m. shift, hourly rates $1.60-$2.15. PAY IN FULL AT END OF SHIFT. TRANSPORTATION PROVIDED. 20 Women. Interesting Work. Bring a Friend and Receive EXTRA BONUS.

Store front churches of the pentecostal persuasion are scattered here and there in the business blocks. There is a huge Catholic church and a synagogue. The Catholics come from the Puerto Rican community and the Jews from the much more elegant high-rises on Lagden Drive.

Everywhere there is shabbiness and litter. Old model cars take up all the parking spaces on the streets. The solid rows of flats are dingy, the screens rusted and torn, the paint peeling. And overall there is the feeling of impermanence, of the nostalgia of an uprooted rural population.

C. J. Miller: John and Helen Miller live in a five-room flat with their five children. They decided three years ago that they had to leave eastern Kentucky when a cousin wrote that he might be able to get John in with him at the factory. They sold off whatever they could, packed the kids in their old Chevrolet and came to the City. At first they all doubled up with the cousins, sleeping on pallets all over the house. It was fun. They talked way into the nights. "Remember the time old Bill's still exploded? Man, that corn he used to make would go down like soda-pop." "Mary, you heard 'bout Meg Pellett's daughter? You know, the one that was so nasty-nice? Imogene, her name was. Why, she run off with that preacher!" Then John got on the afternoon shift at Becker Electric and they found a flat down the street in the next block. John is a fork-lift operator and makes $2.60 an hour and takes home $90 to $120 a week depending on whether he gets any overtime.

The Millers now feel that they are well-off. Work has been steady except for two months when the plant shut down a couple of years ago. They have been able to furnish the flat including a big TV set, and replace the old Chevrolet with a Ford stationwagon which is in good shape. John had to have the transportation to get to work and besides he says he just feels lost without a car. They have to be careful; the car and furniture payments and rent come due every month, and it costs a lot in the city to keep food on the table and the children in clothes fit for school. They often talk about going back but know that they can't.

C. J. is 17 and the eldest of the children. There are three girls ages 14, 11 and 9 and his brother, Tommy who is 10. He has finally made the adjustment to the City. It was very difficult for him in the beginning. There was nothing to do around the house; he got put back at school and everything seemed so big. The only thing he wanted was to go back to the hills; maybe he could live with Grandmaw and help her take care of the farm. Now it's changed. The school and city have lost their terrors. He is a sophmore, one of the many, but well-liked for his good nature. He's taking English, in which he makes consistently poor grades, Science for Modern Living, World History, General Shop and Gym. C. J. likes to tinker with cars and would like to be a long-distance truck-driver.

C. J. has always kept out of trouble. A couple of the boys he runs with have been arrested and Johnny Smith has to report to the probation officer. He sees plenty of cops in the neighborhood. They come to the building to quiet family rows and they break up fights in the taverns. C. J. stays out of their way.

When they first came to town Helen and the children regularly attended the Baptist church. She doesn't go so often now but the younger children still go to Sunday school. One of the children says the blessing at supper. Helen reads the Bible when she feels blue.

For recreation the family visits back-and-forth with the cousins, or they just stay at home and watch TV. On Sundays they go for a drive when the weather is decent. C. J. bums around with his friends, after school and after supper, and on week-ends. They go downtown, go to the park to see if there are any girls around, catch a movie, hang around the gas-station, play catch. None of their activity is "structured."

As the oldest, C. J. has one special responsibility. He sees to it that no one picks on the other children. He has never had to do anything about it except to let it be known that he won't stand for it. He has no chores to do at home.

On the whole, one can say that the Miller family is a family in transition. They have made a good adjustment to their new life; some of the children may attend college, and their prospects look bright. C. J. could not be considered a problem. He is simply marking time until he can get a job and be on his own. His seeming lack of motivation for Middle class goals may be a puzzle to his teachers. The curriculum or possibly the presentation of it just leaves him cold.

Middle Class - Brian Compton

The Comptons live in the Hill district. An estate of forty acres, owned by a retired millionaire industialist was divided, the woods going to the city for a park and the remainder sold for houses. The developer took advantage of the trees, made winding drives, and built houses of highest quality. Plans for new houses must be approved by the neighborhood council. The residents are all professional and business men. They are predominately Episcopalian and Congregationalist, there are a few Catholic and Jewish families, and a couple of families with no observable religious affiliations.

The families do some neighboring--drinks on the patio in summer, for instance--but there is no living in each other's houses. Conversation is on all subjects--politics, the pill, the children, religion, books. Yet the conversation is usually handled lightly so that tempers are seldom lost; voices are raised only when someone has too many martinis.

The Compton house is large--four bedrooms and a maid's room, architecturally modern. It has a large study where Mr. Compton, a lawyer, keeps a considerable law library and a general reference collection. The family buys dozens of new popular current books each year and subscribes to several magazines: The Saturday Review, Harper's, Time, New Yorker, Atlantic and others similar. The basement of the house has a well equipped workshop in which Mr. Compton restores furniture he finds at auctions.

Like nearly every other family, the Comptons have a regular maid who does not live in. She has been with the family since Brian and his sister were babies and sometimes stays overnight when the Comptons entertain. They think of

Elsie as a member of the family, and have helped her a great deal financially over the years.

Brian is sixteen, his sister fourteen. His mother is a college graduate, who taught school for a couple of years before marrying. She keeps busy with her volunteer work at Wilson Memorial Hospital and her club work. Mr. Compton's practice is confined to corporation law. He manages to take regular holidays but has to put in long hours occasionally. The family income is seldom discussed, being considered adequate. Mr. Compton's parents live in a big Victorian place built by Brian's great-grandfather, in an older part of town. The Comptons are considered a good, respectable family.

Brian is a junior in high school, taking German, chemistry, second-year algebra and English. He is excused from gym because he is on the track team--a quarter-miler. Until two years ago he took piano lessons and he now plays reasonably well but prefers to pick out folk tunes on his guitar. His attitude toward school is not enthusiastic but he is anxious about getting good grades in order to get into a good college. English is a problem for him; he manages to get B's most of the time but his heart is not in it; theme writing finds him completely uninspired. German is a bear; he is baffled by cases, tenses, and vocabulary. If he can sweat it out with a C at least his A in Chemistry will keep his B average. His long range plans are for medical school.

Sports of all kinds interest him. He practices track faithfully, plays a competent game of tennis and skis. Often the family spend the Christmas holidays in the Canadian Laurentians, and he'd like to go to Dartmouth where he could ski all winter. In the summer he swims, sails and water skis at their cottage on Lake Crystal.

The arts as such he finds boring. He likes plays and has seen several Broadway productions. The Comptons have season tickets to the symphony and he attends to keep peace in the family. He never goes to the art museum. Science fiction takes up most of the time he devotes to reading along with Sports Illustrated and Playboy.

Perhaps because of his father's profession, his attitude toward police and the law is respectful. Only once has he been in a position to feel that the police might be personally intimidating when he was with a friend who got a speeding ticket and a dressing down. He is a little uneasy about religion because he hasn't been able to reconcile what he is learning in science classes with the doctrine he learned in the Congregational Sunday School.

Brian has a reasonably good mind, some social graces, and determination to become a doctor. The college preparatory course is adequate and there is no worry about funds for advanced study. As yet he has led a restricted life in spite of the richness of his activities. His close friends are entirely from his own neighborhood. His future seems assured.

Puerto Rican:

Nearly a million Puerto Ricans have immigrated to the continental United State, in recent years because the economy of the island has not been able to support its population. About two and a half million live in an area approximately thirty-five by 100 miles, much of it mountainous. Two-thirds of the immigrants have come to New York and the remainder to other large cities.

They differ from the European immigrants who have preceded them. They are already citizens, air transportation is relatively cheap and many hope to return to the island. They are already bicultural to a large extent with the combination of American influence and Spanish tradition. Some speak English, which is required in the schools. But like most of the Europeans before them they start at the very bottom of the economic ladder.[11] Few of them have technical skills and they usually find work in service jobs.

In the City they occupy a twenty block area they call the barrio. Here are the stores where Spanish is spoken, the restaurants and bars, the churches and dance halls, all with a clientele nearly 100% from the island. The streets are an extension of their houses where they visit, amuse themselves, argue and occasionally fight. The barrio is noisy with loud Latin voices and loud Latin rhythms.

Although the police try not to bother them unless there is real trouble, misunderstandings are frequent. Hardly any uniformed policemen have even a smattering of Spanish. The City is attempting to remedy this by putting more Spanish speakers on the force (the height requirement has been lowered) and by starting Spanish classes for patrolmen.

On the whole the barrio is self-contained like a transplanted part of San Juan. Other city residents seldom come to the barrio except on business. The curious visitor is treated politely but ignored "Mister, you smell like a cop." The older Puerto Ricans leave the neighborhood only to go to work.

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[11] For a complete review of the literature see the IRCD Bulletin, Yeshiva University, Volume IV, No. 1, by Gertrude S. Goldberg.

So far the schools have not made a concerted effort to teach English to the children. Special classes have been tried in the elementary grades but too little time has been allocated, and the teachers haven't been prepared to teach them. As a result the children get along as best they can. The drop-out rate is higher than for any other group in the school system.

Juan Fernández: The Fernández family came to the City a year ago from New York, where they had lived in Spanish Harlem for two years after leaving San Juan. Juan's stepfather, Manolo Perrón, is a bartender in a downtown cocktail lounge. He works the five to one shift six days a week with Sundays off. Maria, his mother, works irregularly as a maid at the Pick-Fairmont, a luxury hotel. Their income fluctuates widely, sometimes going as high as $200 a week when big spending conventioneers are in town. The average is considerably lower.

Manolo is a steady worker, a moderate drinker, and a confirmed gambler. He plays the horses, the football and baseball pools, poker and blackjack. It has never occurred to him to keep books on his wins and losses. He remembers the day he hit the big daily double, the night his two jacks showing scared Pancho out of a $600 pot. Maria thinks it would be better if he wouldn't spend so much but she doesn't say anything. It's just part of being a man.

Elena, Juan's sister, is 19. She packs chocolates in a candy factory, gives half her pay to her mother, and spends the rest on clothes. Elena is far too independent to suit Papa. (She stays out late with her boy-friend and never tells anyone where she is going) Papa bawls her out, she says she's grown up and besides this isn't San Juan.

Juan has two half-sisters ages ten and eight, and Papa's niece, Carmen, who is 14, has come to live with them too. She is an orphan.

The flat is four large rooms over a furniture store. All the girls sleep in two double beds in one bedroom, the parents in the other. Juan sleeps in the living room-dining room. Usually they eat in the kitchen. When Mama works, Carmen looks after the two younger girls, gets the evening meal and Papa's lunch before he has to leave for work. On special occasions, Mama makes arroz con pollo (chicken with rice). Then they move the table into the living room-dining room, and it's a big day.

At home only Spanish is spoken. None of them feel comfortable with English. When Juan and Elena talk English, Papa says "You speak Spanish in my house!" Papa's Turf Tips and Elena's movie magazines are the only English literature beside school books. Carmen is poorest in English and all the children help her with her lessons. Some of the information she gets is inaccurate. The TV is on nearly all the time with the sound turned down. They like to listen to the Puerto Rican FM station.

Papa's hours keep him away from the family except on week-ends. He sleeps late (he seldom gets home before two), has coffee, and then goes out until he has to get ready for work. On Sundays old Mr. Diaz comes to visit Papa. They sit for hours in the kitchen playing dominoes and drinking sweet black coffee.

Mama likes to sew. She is a real expert at embroidery. She'd prefer sewing to working at the hotel, but there isn't any chance of getting an income doing it. She also goes to church a lot, and has never missed Sunday mass. The children go to mass, too. Papa goes only at Christmas and Easter. They are all good Catholics.

Juan is 16, a sophomore in the general high school course which doesn't lead anywhere. He has some ability in art and spends much of his time drawing when he should be studying. He has Art, Typing, English and World History. His English teacher has given up. All students pass if they attend with any regularity. His home-room teacher advised him to take typing, which is boring, to help his English. World History is mostly true-and-false tests. The art teacher thinks Juan has talent, maybe not as a creative artist but enough to make a living doing commercial work. Juan is proud of his sketches which were entered in the city-wide school art exhibit, and he dreams about going to art school.

Not much of Juan's spare time is spent at home. He goes to Ernesto's house where they dance with Ernesto's sisters, or sing Spanish songs. Sometimes the boys gamble a little at penny ante or pitching dimes. Once in awhile he goes with Gustavo to the Neighborhood House to play chess. He can't beat Gustavo.

Like Elena he doesn't get along with Papa. It began long ago when Mama decided to marry Manolo. Nobody could be like his real father, hardly remembered. The big blow up came just after they moved to the City. Dios, it was terrible. Like all the other guys, Juan had become a member of the Latin Lords. The primary function of the Lords is to stake out their territory to which the members belong. The Lords activities are not approved by the men at the precinct station. They don't like the petty shake-down rackets, the petty thievery, the pot. And anything that goes on they blame on the Lords. The station had got wind of a rumble between the Lords and the Watusi Warriors. Juan was frisked, his switchblade found, and he was taken to the station. Papa had to come down to get him out. "You goddam punk, I work my ass off so you can go to school, I ought to beat your goddam head off." Then Papa hit him. Juan went out and walked the streets until he was afraid the cops would run him in again. He came home, told Papa he would quit the Lords. But, of course, he didn't. Nobody ever does until he is too old. But, of course, that son-of-a-bitch Papa will never understand.

The family wants to go back to San Juan. That is, Papa and Mama do. Elena would never go--"All those old aunts watching you all the time!" For the two little girls it's a tropical paradise where you play outside all day long. Carmen imagines herself grown up like Elena. Juan day-dreams of art school, but his passionate desire is to get away from home. It isn't likely that he will finish high school, and it is most probable that he will enter military service as soon as he is old enough, and can convince Papa that he should sign his enlistment papers.

The Negro:

No ethnic group in our society has been disadvantaged in so many ways as has the Negro. In a society where the acquisition of goods and getting-ahead are prominent driving forces, the Negro has been blocked from nearly every avenue which would allow his complete participation. Racial attitudes have formed a caste separateness, an apartheid, which is only now being loosened. At the same time, the dominant Whites have not realized how difficult it is to accept middle class goals when the hope of becoming middle class is slim, or how pervasive the effects of second-class citizenship have been in shaping the Negro character.

Business and farm ownership, education and the skilled trades have been highways to the middle class for the White youth who desired to take them. For the Negro youth these have been not highways but narrow paths. Lack of the requisite capital and skills have severely restricted the growth of Negro businesses. Segregated education, legal or de facto, has been inferior, thus limiting advancement through business managership or the professions. Trade unionism, which has accomplished so much in creating a middle class skilled elite and in making higher education a reality for workers' children, has been most reluctant to accept Negroes into training programs.

Economically and politically, the Negro has not yet been able to achieve power commensurate with his numbers, as compared with the Jews or the Irish, for example. The Jew has had strong family traditions, and community cohesiveness in his synagogue, with education a religious obligation. The Irish, through ward politics, have become politicaly powerful, aided by the votes of fellow Catholics. The Negro has lacked such support.

The Negro family has been strongly matriarchial, the male role in the household, marginal. This is the result of the conditions of slavery and informal attitudes towards marriage, as well as the male's lack of economic success. The Negro woman has regularly worked outside the home and often has been the dependable bread-winner. The man has expressed his masculinity, not by being the family head, but by independence from family responsibility. Strengthening the stability of the Negro family is a critical problem for our society as a whole.

As compared with other minority groups, the Negro has had a further disadvantage in that he has been separated from his

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ethnic and cultural heritage. The other groups have, at least, been able to dream of days of past glory. The interest of the Negro in the progress of the new African states, in demanding courses in Negro history, in wearing Afro styles, is an attempt to find this identification with his past. Marcus Garvey's slogan, "Black is beautiful," is an expression of the Negro's need for pride in himself.

Twenty-two million Americans are classed as Negro, a classification based almost entirely upon physical traits. Not all Negroes share such obvious characteristics as dark skin and eyes, kinky hair, broad nose or thick lips. The individual who shares none of these is Negro only because of legal discrimination dependent upon parentage and cultural identification with the Negro community.[12] No serious student will now suggest that mental differences exist apart from cultural differences. Comparisons of intelligence as shown by IQ tests demonstrate the results of cultural disadvantages.[13]

Most Negroes share a sub-culture derived from elements of African survivals, slavery, segregation and prejudice. Traces of African survivals are to be found in magic, as examplified by the conjur-man, in the folk tale and in music.[14] In language there are among the Jamaicans, and the Gullah, who live on the off-shore islands of South Carolina and Georgia, real English creoles or blend languages (a pidgin is a second language combining features of two or more languages; a creole is a native language derived from a pidgin). It has been argued that lower-class Negro American English has many creole structural features: in the verb no copula in the present, "He sick" contrasting with "He be sick" a more permanent condition; omission of the possessive suffix, "John book" for example.[15] Possibly there are survivals in non-verbal communication. Much careful research is needed before reliable statements can be made.[16]

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[12] This is not to suggest any notion of "pure race." For an extended discussion see William C. Boyd, Genetics and the Races of Man (Boston, 1950).

[13] See Nathaniel Hickerson, Education for Alienation (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1966).

[14] Melville J. Herskovitz has a chart of intensity of New World Africanisms in Man and His Works (New York, 1960) p. 615. See also Richard M. Dorson, American Negro Folk Tales (New York, 1967).

Negroes have lived in the City since before the Civil War, a small isolated community of mostly menial workers, who developed their own social life and their own social structure closely paralleling that of the White society. At the top of the social structure are the doctors, lawyers, dentists, druggists, teachers and other professionals and successful businessmen. Ranking below them are the steady-working respectable middle-class, many of them in various government occupations such as mail carriers, policemen, and firemen, as well as those who have had long time employment at factory jobs. Making up the lowest group are those on public aid, and those who work irregularly, changing jobs and residence often; proportionately, this is a far larger group than that of the Whites.

The influx of Negroes from the South has increased the Negro population four-fold in the past thirty years. The older residents have tended to keep themselves aloof from the newcomers.

Clarence Monroe: Clarence, 16, is the oldest son of Jenny Monroe an ADC mother. There are three other children--two girls, Annie and Katherine, who are 14 and 13, and a boy, Stephen, who is eight. Clarence doesn't know his father very well, because his last visit was three years ago and he doesn't even know if he lives in the City. At the time of his last visit, he brought presents for all the children and for Jenny. His father had given five dollars to get steaks, Cokes, and a store cake. It was like a party. But after dinner, his parents had got into an argument. Jenny had said "You ought to be here keeping your family instead of spending everything on floozies." His father had told Stevie to get his hat. "Momma don't want me around here," and left.

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[15] See Beryl Loftman Bailey, "Toward a New Perspective in Negro English Dialectology," American Speech, XL (1965), 171-177; and William A. Stewart, "Sociolinguistic Factors in the History of American Negro Dialects," Florida FL Reporter (Spring, 1967).

[16] The belief that minor differences in the shape of the vocal organs make it difficult for any normal person to master any language is nonsense.

Besides the ADC checks. Jenny gets a day's work a week as a maid at the Staffords' house. She has been doing so on different days of the week, in case there might be some one from the welfare office checking up on her. The precaution is not really necessary but part of her defense against the possibility that her check might be reduced. "If any one comes to the door, you tell them I'm over visiting Aunt Millie. Don't you dare tell them I'm at Miz Stafford's." Clarence has also been working after school and on Saturdays at the supermarket, where he bags groceries at the check-out counter. He keeps some of his earnings for pocket-money, and the Monroes do manage to have sufficient food and clothing for the children.

The apartment they live in has three rooms. The girls and Momma sleep in the bedroom, and the two boys in the living room. Usually their evenings are spent at home watching TV, the children doing their homework. On Sundays Momma and the other children go to church. Clarence doesn't go anymore. There is a dictionary, a Bible and a very large supply of magazines which Momma brings home from the Staffords. Although the building is in bad shape, and the halls dismal, the apartment is clean. Momma says "Just because we're poor, we don't have to be trashy."

The two girls are both interested in school. Annie wants to be a secretary and is going to take a commercial course when she goes to high school next year. Katherine wants to be a nurse. Steve thinks school is fun. Clarence, a sophomore, on a general course, has rather little interest in his school subjects: science, English, history and mathematics. However he is tall, well over six feet, and a "natural athlete." The basketball coach has noticed him and during gym classes Clarence practices basketball fundamentals. The coach is trying to find another job for Clarence so that he can come to basketball practice after school. The school subjects have little interest for Clarence because most of them have little new content, being instead repetitious of the material which those assigned to general courses did not master in previous years. Clarence is doing passing work but not well enough to permit a transfer to the challenging courses taught to the college preparatory students. Nevertheless, he still has the hope that he will be able to play basketball, and go on to college.

These sketches of four boys, brief as they are, contain more information than is ordinarily available to the teacher. The teacher needs to know not only more about other students from these groups but also about Stavros, Kim, and Sean who may be from other cultures. None of these four boys is in any way outstanding either as a problem or as a possessor of great talent. Yet they are truly problems in that the schools have been able to do so little for them.

PHONETICS AND PHONEMICS

by A. L. Davis

Because of the inconsistency of English spelling, and the cumbersomeness of the respellings used by our popular dictionaries, linguists find it necessary to use a special alphabet for English sounds. Beginning students have often found the mastery of such an alphabet difficult, not because it presents any great obstacles to immediate understanding, but because their own spelling habits ingrained by years of practice get in the way. Anyone who wishes to change the pronunciation habits of others, or to understand the decoding-encoding processes in reading and writing English should be knowledgeable about the mechanisms of speech production and of the phonemic principle.

For speech production air from the lungs is modified by the vocal cords, the soft muscle at the back of the mouth-roof (the soft palate or velum), the tongue, teeth and lips.[1]

As the muscles move from one position to another, phoneticians note what is going on and describe the sounds. Phonetic symbols, as modified alphabets, are a kind of shorthand notation; the symbol [p] for example standing for a bilabial voiceless stop uttered without a noticeable puff of breath.

If we take contrasting sets of English words which differ in only one "sound," we can arrive at an inventory of the "sounds" of English for each native-speaker. Such contrasting sets will not be the same for every speaker, of course, since we do not all speak in the same way.[2]

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[1] Some sounds not considered part of the regular English sound-system are made with the air being sucked in as with lip-smacks, tongue-clicks, and such audible sharp taking in of breath as we make when we step into a cold shower.

[2] There are many dialect areas in the United States, some of which have not yet been studied. One may consider that there are three major areas: Northern, Midland and Southern. Northern includes all of New England, New York State, the northern tier of counties in Pennsylvania, Northern Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. Midland is much of

If we use sets like *pit*, *bit*, *kit*, *fit*, *sit*, *mitt*, *nit*, *lit*, *wit*, *hit*, we see that all these words differ in their initial consonants [p,b,k,f,s,m,n,l,w,h]. Since not all consonants occur before *-it*, we change to other sets to complete our inventory as *pet*, *bet*, *get*, *yet*; *pan*, *ban*, *tan*, *Dan*, *fan*, *van*, *ran* adding [t,d,g,v,r,y]. *Than*, although spelled with two letters, has only one contrasting sound made with the tongue held lightly behind the teeth, so that it may be included in the "pan" set. This sound occurs in a short series of words in initial position: *this*, *the*, *there*, *then*, *they*, *their*, *there*, *them*, *this*, *these*, *those*. All these words are "pointers." Because the ordinary alphabet uses two letters for this single sound, we write it with a special symbol [đ] called sometimes "crossed d." The words *thistle*, *Thursday* begin with a sound which is very similar to [đ], but if we cup our hands tightly over our ears we notice that the crossed d's in the series buzz while the th of *thistle*, *Thursday* do not. We recognize this difference in *thy*, *thigh*; *either*, *ether*. Accordingly we use another special symbol [θ] "theta." The difference between [đ] and [θ] is that for the former the vocal cords are brought into the air stream as it is expelled from the lungs causing vibration or voicing, while the latter is made with the vocal cords drawn apart. Part of their phonetic description is that they are *voiced* and *voiceless*.

New Jersey, Maryland, the rest of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and the "r pronouncing" South. The plantation South is Southern. Each of these major areas has sub-areas: eastern New England as opposed to the rest of the north, New York City as a separate sub-area, the Midland divided into South and North Midland--South Midland being the southern middlewest to the Mississippi, and the mountains. Charleston, S.C., and New Orleans have distinctive speech patterns. Also west of the Mississippi, there are varying mixtures of Northern and Midland (except for the South). In general the settlement moved horizontally across the country, and the northern areas are likely to be more Northern.

Dialect areas are discovered by analyzing speech samples from many speakers spread geographically throughout a region. Pronunciation, grammar and vocabulary are all used to determine the extent of the dialect areas and sub-areas. Social class differences must be carefully studied as well, since the speech of the educated *may* be more uniform than that of the uneducated.

pit, *tip*, *zip*, *sip*, *ship* yield the additional contrasts [z] and sh. sh like th is a single sound made with the tongue held slightly farther back in the mouth than for [θ]. Its symbol is [š]. A sound very similar to [š], which does not occur at the beginning of words in English except in French--like pronunciations of *gendarme* and *genre* occurs in words like *measure* as contrasted with *mesher*. At the end of words some speakers use this sound in *rouge*, *barrage*, *garage*, while others use the sound found initially in *John*, *jet*. The symbol for the *measure* sound is [ž].

chain, *Jane*, *sane* give the sounds ch and j. ch is made by pronouncing [t] followed immediately by [š]. This has the special symbol [č]. j is made by pronouncing [d] followed immediately by [ž]; we use the symbol [ǰ] for this. These combinations of fused sounds are called *affricates*.

ng never appears at the beginning of words in English, but *tam*, *tan*, *tang* show that it is also a single different sound. It is quite similar to n but with the tongue placed in position for k and g. The symbol used is [ŋ] sometimes called "eng" or "agma."

The above sets illustrate all American English consonants. We may sum them up by a table which groups them together on the basis of articulation

p,b; f,v; θ,ð; t,d; s,z; š,ž; č,ǰ; k,g; m n ŋ;
l r h y w.

[p,t,k] and [b,d,g] are formed by closing off the vocal tract completely at some point: [p] and [b] have lip closure, [t] and [d] have closure with the tongue against the gum-ridge and molars; for [k] and [g] the back part of the tongue against the hard palate or soft palate just behind it. This will depend upon adjacent sounds; notice the difference in tongue placement between *king* and *caught*. All of these sounds are called stops: *labial* for [p,b], *alveolar* for [t,d], and *velar* for [k,g]; [p,t,k] are voiceless and [b,d,g] voiced.

[m,n] and [ŋ] are made in the same positions as the stops: [m] with [p,b]; [n] with [t,d]; [ŋ] with [k,g]. They are different in that the air escapes through the nose, the soft palate or velum not closing off the nasal passage. They are, then, bilabial, alveolar and velar *nasals*. They are all voiced.

The sounds [f,v,θ,đ,s,z,š,ž] are characterized by the articulators being so close together that a friction sound is formed. These are *fricatives*. [f,v] are made with the lower lip lightly touching the teeth; they differ as do the other pairs--voiceless, voiced. [θ] and [đ] are made with the tongue tip slightly forward of the [s,z] alveolar position, in fact it may touch the lower teeth, the upper teeth, or even be held lightly between the teeth. The tongue forms a wide slit-like opening.

[s] and [z] are made in the same place as [t,d,n] with the tongue at the gum ridge. The opening is a narrow groove. [š] and [ž] are made with the tongue tip farther back behind the gum-ridge and with wider opening; the are often accompanied by lip-rounding. [f,θ,s,š] are voiceless; [v,đ,z,ž] are voiced. [č] and [ǰ] as mentioned above are combinations of [t] and [š], [d] and [ž], called affricates.

[l], [r], [y], and [w] are ordinarily made without friction. For [l] the tongue is held with the tip at the gum-ridge with the air coming out over the sides of the tongue. Because the center and back of the tongue are relatively free to accommodate to neighboring sounds the [l] may be "fronted", that is made with the tongue toward the front of the mouth as in the initial [l] of *limb*, or "backed" as in *pool* where the tongue is raised toward the velum. These varieties of [l] are sometimes called "clear" and "dark."

There is considerable variation in the way [r] is made. In words like *red*, *row* the tongue may be pulled backward with the sides of the tongue held tightly against the molars, and the tip of the tongue may be slightly curled. In words like *try* and *dry* the tongue tip scrapes the gum-ridge in a backward movement. In some pronunciations, especially in the Middlewest, of *were*, *burr*, *bird*, etc., the [r] becomes the center of the syllable, that is a vowel having little perceptible movement during the production, the front of the tongue being tensed and at times with the tip bent slightly backward. Initial [r] is often rounded.

[y] and [w] occur only before vowels and are made with the tongue moving from a high front position for [y] and a high back position for [w]. The lips are rounded for [w]. [y] and [w] because they indicate a movement from one position to another are called *glides*.

[h] has audible friction in the vocal tract but the air is not hindered in any way by the vocal organs. It is voiceless and since the friction starts at the glottis with the vocal cords pulled away from the air stream, it is usually called a *glottal fricative*.

We can make an inventory of vowels in the same way that we did for consonants, using series which differ by only the vowel nuclei. *peat*, *pit*, *pate* (as in "bald-pate") *pet*, *pat*, *pot* (in some dialects), *putt*, *put*; *beat*, *bit*, *bait*, *bet*, *bat*, *bought* (in some dialects), *boat*, *boot*, give us a nearly complete vowel series: [pit, pIt, pet, pɛt, pæt, pɑt, pʌt, pʊt; bit, bIt, bet, bɛt, bæt, bɔt, bot, but]; we know that [ʊ] differs from [u] because of such pairs as *pull*, *pool*, [pʊl] and [pul].

The sets *buy*, *boy*, *bough* add the diphthongs [aI], [ɔI] and [aʊ]. *Burr* adds [ər], sometimes written [ɚ], [ɜ] or [ʌr]. This last is often considered a vowel-consonant sequence rather than a simple vowel or diphthong.

Classification of the vowels is based upon the position of the tongue and the shape of the lips. They are all voiced. Starting with [i] as in *peat*, we see that the front (not the tip) of the tongue is high, the lips not rounded. In *pit* the [I] is made with the tongue not quite so high, in *pate* for the [e] the tongue is lower than for [I]; in *pet* for [ɛ] the tongue is lower than for [e], and in *pat* [æ] is made with the tongue quite low. These five form a front series [i, I, e, ɛ, æ], the mouth opening normally becoming increasingly large and the jaw progressively opening. The lips are not rounded for any of these.

Similarly in *boot* the [u] is made with the tongue high in the back of the mouth, toward the soft palate (velum), with the lips rounded, in *book* [ʊ] is made with the tongue slightly lower, in *boat* the tongue is lower for [o], and for [ɔ] in *bought* the tongue quite low. All these are made with noticeable lip-rounding. This back series [u, ʊ, o, ɔ] as with the front series shows a progressively larger mouth opening.

Between the front and back vowels are the central vowels. The [ʌ] of *butt* is made with the tongue highest at its central portion, but still not high. The [ɑ] of *cot* is made with the tongue very slightly raised in its central portion. Neither of these sounds is rounded.

For the diphthongs in *bite*, *bout*, *Hoyt* there is a clearly perceptible movement of the tongue during their production. When we pronounce the [aI] of *bite* the tongue moves from the low central position of [ɑ] toward high front. In *bout* the tongue moves from the low central [ɑ] position toward high back. The [ɔI] of *Hoyt* starts with the tongue at the low back position, moving toward high front.

The vowels are usually arranged into a quadrilateral for ease in referring to them. The figure does not, of course, accurately represent the true position of the oral cavity.

	Front	Central	Back
High	i I		u ʊ
Mid	e ɛ	ʌ	o
Low	æ	a	ɔ

At this point the reader might wish to try some transcription of one-syllable words containing the above sounds. The following list illustrates them: seat, sit, fit, read, note, vine, rod, sought, cur, catch, judge, sing, singe, ridge, please, rouge, tack, bend, Tom, joke, yacht, bush, gag, lip, leech, hide, out, oil, zeal, this, these, thin, shake. Transcriptions (based upon the northern Middlewestern dialect) are sit, sIt, fIt, rid, not, vaIn, rɑd, sɔt, kər, kæč, ǰʌǰ, sIŋ, sInǰ, rIǰ, pliz, ruž (or ruǰ), tæk, bɛnd, tɑm, ǰok, yat, bʊš, gæg, lIp, lič, haId, aʊt, ɔIl, zil, ðIs, ðiz, θIn, šek. The reader may also wish to make contrasting sets or series like those above which helped us find our inventory of sounds.

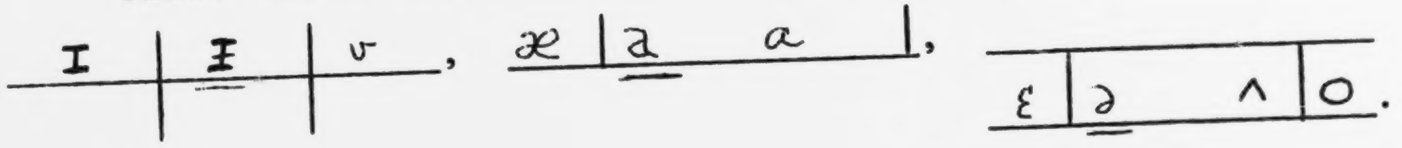
Modifications

In discussing the nucleus of pert we said that the most usual symbol for it was [ər], the r sound often made simultaneously with the vowel. The [ə] sound without any r coloring also is found at the ends of such words as Cuba [kyubə]. The [ə] sound is made with the tongue slightly forward of the position for [ʌ], and it is very common in unstressed syllables. Since [ə] and [ʌ] are paired depending upon the stress of the syllable, it would be possible to use a single symbol for them, provided we mark the stress. The vowel symbol most commonly chosen is [ə] called schwa and butter would be written [bə́tər], those who do not pronounce the final r, saying [bə́tə].

Some Eastern American speakers have a vowel between the [æ] of hat and the [ɑ] of hot. It occurs in pronunciations of path, dance, glass and a few other words, and is regarded as quite refined. It is common before r in far, barn, park, yard in the Northern Middlewest, and in some Southern pronunciations of blind, differing from bland and blond. The symbol [a] is used for this sound.

Nearly all speakers have a high central vowel [ɨ] called 'barred i' (eye) in the word just when used as an adverb. It occurs as a stressed vowel in Southern and Midland pronunciations of ribbon, sister (not like the stressed vowel of cistern), scissors. It is also common in wish, not rhyming with dish or bush, and children with a vowel differing from chilly. The series will he pronounced will'e [wIli], Willy and wooly may also form a contrasting set [wIli, wɨli, wʊli]. Therefore it is necessary to add ɨ to the chart.

These three vowels should then be added:



The total number of vowel symbols could be increased enormously and professional phoneticians such as field workers for the Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada use about twice the number that we have included. At times it is necessary to indicate that a vowel is not quite like the ideal vowel of the chart. The [æ] of jazz has a Chicago pronunciation which sounds closer to [ɛ]. Arrowheads are used to indicate these intermediate sounds; the transcription of the vowel of jazz might be [ɛ˅] or [æ˄]. The arrowheads may be used in combination: [ə˂̂] being a possible pronunciation for *fur* with speakers who do not pronounce the final r. Additional modifications are length: [˘·] for very short, unmarked for 'normal' length, a single raised dot, [·], for long, a colon for very long, [:], and a double colon [::] for extremely long, which may occur in calls. Nasalized vowels may be indicated by the use of ~ over the vowel or a , under it. Degree of rounding may be indicated by using ◡ under the symbol for rounding, and a straight line for unrounding. A possible, if extreme, transcription for *on* would be [ã̜˃˄::], an extremely long, slightly rounded low central vowel, not quite at low central position but made somewhat farther back in the mouth and somewhat raised--toward mid back position--and nasalized.

The diphthongs [aI, aʊ, ɔI] differ from dialect to dialect in the position of both elements. For [aI] the first element may be fronted to [a], raised to [ə], or the final element may be [ə] as in some pronunciations of *white*: [hwaIt, hwəIt, hwa·ə·t]. The [aʊ] of *cow* is often [kæʊ]. The [ɔI] may be [ˉoI] in some pronunciations of *buoy*, differing from [bɔI], some speakers pronounce *hurt* and *Hoyt* in the same way [həɨt], and a few very old-fashioned speakers will have [ˉaI] in words like *joint*.

The phonetician may wish to make quite fine discriminations in the pronunciation of diphthongs to indicate as closely as he can the beginning point and end point, and also unless it seems self-evident from the transcription he may wish to indicate which component is the loudest. In the word *cow* he might use a transcription like this for the diphthong: [æ˃·o̯]; this would indicate that the first element begins slightly farther back of the [æ] position, is quite long, and that the end point is at [o̯]; the diacritic or mark under the o shows that it is not the loudest element. The end points of these diphthongs is related to the position of their first elements, [aI] and [ɔI] often ending at the [ɛ] position [aɛ̯], [ɔɛ̯] and [aʊ] at the [o] position.

The word *new* may be pronounced in at least three ways: [nIy̽, ni̯u, nu]; the second, [ni̯u], is often written [nyu] or [nju] and called a "rising diphthong;" the other diphthongs are sometimes called "falling."

Reexamination of the American English vowels shows that i, e, u, and o also have perceptible movement or glides during their production, i starting at a position a little lower than [i] and ending very high: *see* [siᵛi̯^], seat [siˇi̯^t]. e starting at a position little lower than [e] and ending slightly lower as well: say [seˇi̯ˇ] mate [meˇi̯ˇt], u like i starting a little lower than [u] position and ending very high; zoo [zuˇu̯^] boot [buˇu̯^t], and o slightly lower in go [goˇu̯ˇ] boat [boˇu̯ˇt]. These diphthongs are sometimes called "narrow," the others "wide," Diphthong pronunciations will vary from speaker to speaker, from dialect to dialect.

The consonants may also be added to, at least as extensively as the vowels, and appropriate modifying symbols for length etc., used. The glottal stop [ʔ], the symbol like a question mark with the dot omitted, is formed in the larynx, the vocal cords being pressed tightly together. It occurs often at the beginning of an utterance whose initial sound is a vowel: [ʔætðətaIm] etc.; [əʔ] may substitute for [æn], [ən]: [əʔæpəl] in some dialects. It may be used instead of [t] in [maʊ̃ʔn̩] mountain (the mark under the n indicates that the n is syllabic) of k in [bʌʔl̩] buckle. Some dialects of the Southern mountains seem peppered with glottal stops. In a word like mountain both the t and [ʔ] may be heard [maʊ̃tʔn], the t being heard as the place of closure, but the release being made from the larynx to the nasal passage.

[l̩] as in buckle (above) and the nasals are frequently syllabic, no 'vowel' being formed. Something [sʌ̃mpʔm̩], button [bʌtn̩], smoking [smokʔŋ̍], [m̩] for I'm and [n̩] for an, and are common in quick speech.

Many speakers have a sound in words like ladder, latter, letter etc. which is a quick flap [ɾ] sometimes indicated as 'voiced t' [t̬] the ˬ being the symbol for voicing. Final fricatives often are quite voiceless at the end of their production buzz seeming to end with zs [bʌzs]; if one wished to indicate this as a voiceless z at the end one could write [bʌzz̥].

We may also wish to avail ourselves of special symbols for the l sounds: [l̡] for a very 'clear' l, [l] for an intermediate l and [ɫ] for a 'dark' l.

At times we need to indicate that a stop is accompanied by an audible and quick breath release. If we cup our hand over the mouth and say pie we can feel this puff of air. In pill we also feel it, but not in spill. This puff of air is indicated by raised h or raised comma: [pʰaI], [pʻaI], [pʰIl], [pʻ I l]. English speakers automatically aspirate initial voiceless stops; Spanish speakers do not.

There are many varieties of r, all of which could be indicated by special symbols. The trilled alveolar r in Spanish *rojo* etc., is indicated by the symbol [r^{+}] and is useful when one is analyzing the speech of Spanish speaking children. The Spanish b and v sound which causes so much trouble for children learning English, is a stop in initial position [bender^{+}] *vender* ʻto sellʼ but a bilabial fricative [β] between vowels [aβana] *Havana*.

In some English pronunciations of *nymph* the -ph is made with the lips releasing from the [m] or [p] position i.e. bilabial and the lower lip does not touch the upper front teeth. A special symbol could be used for this: [ϕ], so that one could write [nImpϕ] or [nImϕ]. For many speakers the word, *milk*, does not have any touching of the tongue lip at the alveolar ridge for l, the tongue being humped in the back nearly at the position for [o]. If the lips are rounded as they usually are for this sound, the phonetician may wish to use a special symbol [ɤ] for it. Such additional symbols are employed by the phonetician whenever he needs them.

Let us now summarize the preceding symbols:

ptk, bdg; ʔ, ɾ --the voiceless and voiced stops; the glottal stop and the alveolar flap; t̬ "voiced t."

ϕ, f, θ, s, š; β, v, ð, z, ž--the voiceless and voiced fricatives. č and ǰ the voiceless and voiced affricates.

ļ, l, ɫ, --the lateral l "clear," "normal," and "dark."

r, r^{+}--r as in *red*; r^{+} trilled with the tongue tip.

y--a consonantal glide starting at high front position, or sometimes a little lower; compare *yet* with *yacht*.

w--a consonantal glide starting at high back position, or sometimes a little lower; compare *won* and *watch*.

h--a fricative without narrow opening in the vocal tract.

i, I, e, ɛ, æ front vowels unrounded.
ɨ, ə, ʌ, a, ɑ central vowels unrounded.
u, ʊ, o, ɔ back vowels rounded.
ɝ, the vowel of *pert* with simultaneous r formation; ɚ the unstressed vowel of *butter* with simultaneous r formation.

Diacritics: > more back, < more front, ˄ higher, ˅ lower; ˘, ., :, :: degrees of length; ˬ voiced (used with main symbol indicating an ordinarily voiceless sound, as s̬, an s voiced but not a z because somewhat tenser); ˳ voiceless (used with main symbol indicating an ordinarily voiced sound as the l in *play* [pl̥-]; ⁀ weaker element of a diphthong (could be also triphthong e.g., in some pronunciations of *new* [ni̯uᵛu̯]); ~ over symbol (or , underneath) nasalization; h, ʼ degrees of aspiration, often used with initial voiceless stops: *pit* [pʻIt, p^{h}It] etc; ˌ a mark to indicate the sound, "normally" a consonant, forms a syllable as in *button* [bʌtn̩] ‿ under a symbol for a sound normally unrounded, or possibly to indicate very noticeable lip rounding, like lip protrusion, for a rounded sound: [a̮] slightly rounded a, [u̮] very rounded u, and ___ under a symbol for a sound normally rounded, or possibly very spread: u̲ somewhat unrounded, œ̲ very unrounded, lips widely spread.

The phonetician tries to record everything in the speech that he can hear. To some, it may seem that he attempts to be overly precise. Yet, it is evident that he must do so, in order not to overlook any data which may prove pertinent to the analysis of a language or dialect. By studying the phonetic data in its relationship to the utterances of a speaker, or group of speakers of a language the investigator discovers the phonemes--of a single speaker, an idiolect, of a dialect, or of a language.

When we started our survey of American English sounds, we used examples from northern Middlewestern (sometimes labelled Inland Northern). The contrasting sets *Pete*, *pit*; *Pete*, *beat* etc. tell us a very great deal, provided we are acquainted with the dialect; however if we are working with an unfamiliar dialect or language we may find the task of finding sets very difficult; in some languages minimal pairs of words, i.e., differing by one "sound" as do *Pete* and *beat*, are hard to find; we may overlook contrasting sounds because to us they sound so much alike--some languages contrast aspirated with unaspirated stops, which we do not, so that we don't "hear" them; or we may think sounds which are "alike" to the speaker are different--f and h in Japanese belong to the same Japanese phoneme. In addition we re-interpret sounds in terms of our system in a somewhat different way: French u is reinterpreted as English u although it is quite distinct phonetically, being a front rounded vowel, and different from French ou: *Sue* and *sou*, for example.

All these considerations are pertinent for the study of dialects as well as for that of different languages.

The broad or simplified transcription is both inexact and biased. We must use a fuller alphabet. We may start as before using contrasting series but now using a slightly more sophisticated alphabet. *Pete* [pʻiᵛi^t], *pit* [pʻIt] *beat* [biᵛi^t] bit [bIt], *pet* [pʻɛt] *bet* [bɛt], *pat* [pʻæt] *bat* [bæt] etc. We learn from the series that initial p is aspirated while b is not. When we extend the series to words like *pit spit*, we discover that initial p is regularly aspirated, but after s the p is not. The other voiceless stops, t and k, show the same patterning. The voiceless stops, then, are aspirated in initial position, not after s; and in final position as in *sip*, *sit*, *sick*, the stop may not even be released. These varieties are quite like each other i.e. phonetically similar, and for initial position and after s the aspiration or lack of it is automatic. In final position either is possible as well as unreleased. Further examination of English voiceless stops shows no other important varieties. We call the varieties of each of these, *allophones*. The varieties of p are pʻ, p, and p˺ (the diacritic meaning unreleased) and we can symbolize the distribution: [pʻ-, (s) p-, -p,˺ -p,-pʻ]. Together they make up the phoneme /p/ (phonemes being indicated by slant lines and the allophones by square brackets. The variation between pʻ and p after s is automatic or in complementary distribution; in the final position we do not know which will occur; we call this "free variation." It is possible that the free variation has limits--that formal and informal styles and emphasis determine the choice of allophones.

The other voiceless stops, t and k, may be symbolized: /t/ [tʻ-, (s)t-, -tʻ-t˺,-t] /k/ [kʻ-, (s)k-, -kʻ,-k˺,-k]. The /t/ as we have seen in words like *letter*, *butter* also has the allophone [ɾ]. In some dialects also there may be simultaneous glottal stopping, or for /t/ and /k/ a glottal stop may be an allophone.[3]

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[3] In a dialect where the glottal stop would be an allophone of *both* /t/ and /k/ in certain positions, a problem arises whether the ʔ should be assigned to /t/ or /k/, or both, or neither. If one has [bʌtn̩ and bʌʔn̩] the ʔ would be assigned to /t/ as a variant. The stoppage with the release at the alveolar n position would also confirm this decision. However it might be possible that a speaker has *button* with

The consonant phonemes are listed below with comments on some of the allophones:

Stops:	/p/	p‘-	(s) p-	-pʔ,-p,-p‘
	/t/	t‘-	(s) t-	-tʔ,-t,-t‘
	/k/	k‘-	(s) t-	-kʔ,-k,-k‘

Speakers of some dialects or foreign languages will substitute a dental t, made with the tongue tip touching the upper teeth, for the alveolar t. Others may have a very lax pronunciation, potatoes for example having lax p and t making it sound like [bədedəz]. Before l in words like clean, Cleveland the k may actually be closer to t or at least with a simultaneous closure at k and t postions. k as well as g will vary from closure at the hard palate to the velum depending upon adjacent sounds. This can be felt in a series like key, can, caught, or ghee, gat, got.

/b/	b-	-bʔ,-b
/d/	d-	-dʔ,-d
/g/	g-	-gʔ,-g

Aspiration of these voiceless stops occurs in emphatic speech.

Fricatives:

/θ/ tongue behind teeth, touching teeth or interdental. May be pronounced t in very fast speech, in some dialects or in foreignized speech.[4] Other speakers may have a

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with [bʌʔn̩] and bucking the present participle with [bʌʔn̩] also. If the transcription is accurate--that is, glottalized t [tʔ] and k [kʔ] are not what is said--then we have a case of overlap and must state that this is a fact in our description, however we choose to represent the phoneme(s). If on the other hand we have [bʌʔn̩] and [bʌʔŋ̍] then we may assign the former to /t/ and the latter to /k/ on the basis of the following nasal position. It may also be possible that the preceding vowel may be slightly different in the two words: [bʌ<ʔn̩, bʌʔn̩] which would help us make our choice. A similar problem arises with the flap [ɾ] or voiced t [t̬] in words like latter, ladder. For some speakers they may be true homophones; for others the [æ] in latter is shorter than it is in ladder. Since the vowels are longer before voiced stops than before voiceless ones, the seeming contrast between long and short could be considered as part of the consonant feature giving [læt̬ɚ] /lætər/ and [læ·t̬ɚ] /lædər/.

[4] It is possible that some speakers have two stops, a dental for /θ/ and an alveolar for /t/, thus preserving the

an /s/ substitution for /θ/. [f,ϕ] is substituted for /θ/ in some dialects: [fIŋk] for [θIŋk]. Many speakers have a pronunciation of seventh as [sɛbm̩ϕ], also in eleventh.
/f/ usually labio-dental. Can be bilabial [ϕ] in words like nymph. The bilabial occurs quite often in rapid speech.
/s/ usually alveolar. May be dental in foreignized speech.
/š/ usually lip rounded.
/đ/ similar to the voiceless /θ/, with /d/ substitution in some dialects and in foreignized speech. A bilabial [β] or /v/ substituted in some dialects.
/v/ usually labio-dental like /f/ but also bilabial [β] or /b/ in some dialects in words like seven [sɛβm̩, sɛbm̩].
/z/ same comment as for /s/.
/ž/ same comment as for /š/.

All fricatives are held longer at the end of words, especially before pause. Released voiced stops and voiced fricatives are also somewhat unvoiced in final position.

Affricates:

/č/ t and š fused. Some foreignized speech substitutes š. The t is phonetically slightly farther back than the t of tin: [t̡].

/ǰ/ ď and ž fused. Some foreignized speech substitutes [č, ž,] or [y]. d farther back than the d of din [d̡].

Nasals:

/m/ usually bilabial. May be labio-dental in some pronunciations before f nymph [nIɱf], the special [ɱ] indicating the articulation. May be somewhat unvoiced in words like something pronounced [sʌ̃mpm̥ˀ]. The final m is unusual in that it also forms a syllable.[5]

/n/ usually alveolar. May be dentalized in some dialects and in foreignized speech, or palatalized (made farther back) in words like million when pronounced [mIʎɲ]. The special | symbol and [ɲ] indicate this palatal pronunciation. Like m it may be somewhat unvoiced: fishing-pole [fIšn̥pʻoɫ].

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contrast. A similar situation may exist for /đ/, /d/ with dental d for [đ] and alveolar for /d/. The matter needs investigation. Many speakers will have [θ], [đ] in more formal speech but [t], [d] informally.

[5] The syllabic symbol is not repeated, [sʌmpm̥]. The voiceless nasal would be nearly inaudible, being merely release of air from the nose.

/ŋ/ varies from palatal to velar depending upon adjacent sounds; compare the position of the tongue in sing, song. May be unvoiced in a pronunciation of looking-glass [lʌkŋ̥ glæs] for example. The nasals, like the fricatives, are held longer when in final position. Some speakers have ŋ only before k and g sing being [sɪŋg]. Some foreignized speech has [sɪŋk] like sink. Nasal closure may be omitted with nasalization of a preceding vowel as in [mãʏ̯ʔn̩].

/l/ closure usually at alveolar position but rest of tongue accommodates to adjacent sounds. Closure incomplete in some pronunciations of milk. May be voiceless in words like play (after voiceless sound). Often more advanced to dental position in foreignized speech. Some speakers of Southern and South Midland dialects have "clear l" in nearly all positions; some Northern speakers have "dark l" in nearly all positions. Most commonly dark l [ɫ] occurs in post-vocalic position. Palatal l [ʎ] in some pronunciations of million. l is held longer in final position.

/r/ The general characteristic of r is that the tongue moves backwards with pressure against the molars. The tongue tip may be bent slightly backward.

After t as in try the r is a "scrape," behind the alveolar ridge. It is also voiceless.

After d as in dry the r is similar, but fully voiced. A symbol for these can be used [ɹ̥] and [ɹ] (upside down and reversed).

In three there may be a very brief alveolar flap. Old-time telephone operators used to trill this r. Simultaneous pronunciation of r with the vowel [ʌ] or [ə] may be only tongue pressure against the molars without noticeable movement as in [pɝt] pert. The nasals, l, and r may, then, be syllabic.

/h/ The glottal friction is characteristic. With a following vowel the sound may begin in the central [ə] position, or at the vowel position. It has sometimes been called a voiceless vowel. If we pronounce he, hat, hot we notice this tongue accommodation.

/y/ The position for this varies depending upon the following sound. Compare ye and yawl. It is characterized by being higher and more front than the following sound.

/w/ Also depends upon the following sound for its position. Compare wool and wall. It is higher and farther back than the following sound and with lip rounding.

For the consonants there is little disagreement among phonemicists. The combination of h and w in which, where is sometimes called a unit phoneme and written with a small upside down w /ʍ/. A weakness in this argument is that nobody analyzes as a unit phoneme the sequence /hy/ as in hue. /y/ in IPA* may be written /j/. /č/ could be written without the wedge /c/, as could /ǰ/ for those who do not use /j/ for /y/, because the symbols do not need this complication. Some write ʃ for š, ʒ for ž; also tʃ for č and dʒ for ǰ, and may consider them as sequences rather than as unit phonemes.

There is not this agreement concerning vowels among phonemicists. The disagreement is based for the most part on the treatment of the "long" vowels as in meat, mate, boot, boat. From one point of view they are unit phonemes to be represented by the unit symbols, i,e,u,o. Others following the lead of the linguists Bloomfield, Bloch, Trager and Smith prefer to analyse them into two components. The following discussion is based on George L. Trager and Henry Lee Smith, Jr., Outline of English Structure, Norman, Okla: 1951.

The long vowels show an off-glide toward high front and high back. These glides vary in their position as do the y and w in prevocalic position. They are then to be analysed as vowel plus /y/, vowel plus /w/: as i+y, e+y, u+w, o+w. As the corresponding short vowels, I,ɛ,ʊ,o (found in New England stone, coat, etc. among old-fashioned speakers) can then be combined with the y and w giving /biyt/ beat, /bit/ bit, /buwt/ boot, /bowt/ boat.

The three front vowel phonemes are i,e,æ /bit/ bit, /bet/ bet, /bæt/ bat. The central vowels are ɨ,ə,a /jɨst/ just as adverb, /nət/ nut, /nat/ not (with the unround low central). The back vowels are u,o,ɔ /buk/ book, /bot/ as in New England old-fashioned boat, /bɔt/ bought. All of these vowels may be combined with -y and -w, although not for every speaker. Most common American combinations are i+y, e+y, a+y /bayt/ bite, ɔ+y /ɔyl/ oil; a+w /kaw/ with low central, æ+w /kæw/ with low front, o+w /bowt/ boat, u+w /buwt/. As can be seen this interpretation, while allowing for more contrasts, at the same time reduces the number of vowel phonemes.

In some dialects also there is a phonemic difference in the length of the vowel. The writer does not rhyme the words Tommy and balmy (pronounced without l), the former being short and the latter long; the length in balmy may also be accompanied with a glide to mid-central [ə] position [t mi, b ·mi, b ·ə mi]. Other dialects make more extensive use of this length and in-gliding feature. Initial h, although not voiced, can be viewed as corresponding to a following vowel; that is, the vowel position is taken by the vocal organs at the beginning but voicing begins later; his for example, as [I̥Iz] hot as [ḁɑt]; or initial h starts at mid-central position: [ə̥I̥Iz], [ə̥ḁɑt]. The interpretation, then, is that the post-vocalic length and in-glide is also h. Tommy is /tɑmi/ or /tamiy/, balmy is /bahmi/ or /bahmiy/.

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*the International Phonetic Alphabet

The Trager-Smith system yields a total of 36 vowel nuclei possibilities: the nine short vowels, each combining with y, w and h, and forms an overall pattern for the language. Each dialect uses part of it and no one dialect exhausts the possibilities.

Other phonemicists have pointed out that for some dialects it is necessary to indicate that special relationship between some of the nuclei. Some dialects have əi and əw before voiceless sounds but ah, æw before voiced sounds: bite bəyt, bide bahd; house həws, houses hæwzɨz. For speakers of such dialects əy and ay, əw and æw, are in complementary distribution (allophonic and non-contrasting). Some also insist that it is necessary to add a tenth vowel between ɑ and a to take care of such series as bland, blind, blond; had, hard (without r) hod.

The features of stress and pitch in English are also phonemic but may extend over several segmental phonemes. They are called suprasegmental. Four degrees of stress or loudness are usually set up by phonemicists: primary, secondary, tertiar and weak, and they are marked by the symbols ´, ˆ, `, ˘; the weak stress may be left unmarked. The phrase "ă bîg híckŏrў nùt" would exemplify these stresses for many speakers. Adjective-noun combinations: ă bîg mán, ă yoûng gírl, proper names: Jôhn Smíth, Bîll Jónes, and adverb-adjective combinations (when not followed by a noun). It's vêry níce, show a ˆ ´ pattern. Compounds like ice cream may be ˆ ´, ` ´, or ´ ˆ, ´ `. Lemon Wax as a tradename is lémŏn wàx.

Four levels of pitch are set up also, and indicated by superscript numerals with 4 being highest and 1 lowest (Some linguists use the opposite order making 1 highest and 4 lowest; this doesn't cause confusion, as might be expected, because the numbering system can easily be converted). The pitches make up contours, the (2)-3-1 being common in statements, (2)-3-3 on questions, especially those in ordinary statement form: He's going? Pitch 4 seems mostly to be used in extra-polite situtations or in emotional states. It is possible that it belongs to the paralanguage. (Refer to this section).

Four kinds of juncture are also to be distinguished. Between words and in compounds there is often a slight difference in the choice of allophone. *Diet-rite* has the final allophone of /t/ followed by the initial allophone of /r/, while *diatribe* has a tr cluster as in *try*. Repetition of the same phoneme as in *bookkeeper* also shows this separation by choice of allophone [-k˺k‘-]. This phonemenon is called plus juncture /+/ and often occurs between words or within compounds, although it may occur within a simple word *Plato* /pley+tow/. A phrase like *in a minute* may on the other hand have no + junctures.

A second juncture, "single-bar" /|/, occurs between phrases and ordinary writing sometimes marks it by a comma. Before this juncture there is a drawling of preceding phonemes but the pitch level is not changed.

The double bar juncture /|| / is a terminal; it has the features of the first two, and terminal rise in pitch. It is common in questions. Double # juncture is also terminal with fall in pitch, as is used in statements.

These suprasegmental phonemes form the "tune" of the language. A foreigner will be misunderstood even when his pronunciation of the segmentals is accurate. They form, perhaps, the most difficult part of the pronunciation habits to master. As yet thorough research into the various dialects of the language has not been done for the suprasegmentals.

The inventory of phonemes for a dialect or language does not end the analysis. We must also consider the occurrences of the phonemes. The possibilities may not be exhausted in these occurences. We have, *sick* and *Schick* /sik/, /šik/ but not /zik/; we have *beak* /biyk/ and only very recently *Bic* /bik/ a trade name, as monosyllabic words (some of the combinations will occur in longer words). Although the preceding analysis has /h,y,w/ in post vocalic position, the phoneme /ŋ/ does not occur initially and students find it difficult to pronounce a combination like /ŋa/. /ž/, which occurs medially in *pleasure*, *measure*, does not occur finally for some speakers in *garage*, *rouge* etc., where they have /ǰ/. The actress Zsa-Zsa Gabor has caused many speakers to have /ž/ in initial position, at least in the pronunciation of her name.

Vowel clusters do not occur in English, but it is very rich in consonant combinations.[6]

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[6] There is a discussion of these consonant clusters in A. A. Hill's *Introduction to Linguistic Structures* New York: 1958 (Harcourt, Brace and Company), chapter 6 "Phonotactics."

Consonant clusters maybe listed by inspecting a phonemic chart of the consonants and the reader may wish to see how many clusters he has in his speech. /pl-, pr-, gr-, gl-/ occur in *play*, *pray*, *gray*, *glee*. /tr-, dr-/ in *try*, *dry* but not /tl-/ or /dl-/. In final position we have /-lp, -rp, -rg/ *alp*, *burp*, *erg* but not /-lg/. Some speakers will not have certain clusters: the beer name *Schlitz* for some /šl-/ and for others /sl-/. Many speakers do not have an initial sr-, while others pronounce *shrimp* as /srimp/.

An inventory should be made of the consonant cluster possibilities for dialects for contrast with a standard dialect, as well as for the pitfalls a foreigner will find in learning English. Care must be taken in labelling clusters as non-standard. The word *sixths* may be /siksθs/ in very deliberate speech but it is usually simplified to /sikθs/ or even /siks/. Many sub-standard dialects do, however, simplify clusters.

This brief survey cannot exhaust the subject. Contrastive analysis of dialects must be made on the basis of the phonemic organization. Does the speaker who pronounces *joint* as /ǰaynt/ have a difference in *his* speech between it and *giant*? Do the dialects have restrictions on the occurrences of some phonemes? Some speakers have *Mary*, *merry*, *marry* all pronounced the same; others will distinguish two, or three. Some will rhyme *pork* and *fork* while others do not. In some dialects post-vocalic /r/ is strong in others it becomes /ə/ or is even lost without trace; and intervocalic -r- may be lost with *doing* and *during*, rhyming.

Because the term is used frequently, I should like to end this section with a note on the morpheme. The phonemes in themselves do not have meaning, but show contrast in meaning: the /b/ of *bit* and the /p/ of *pit* signal different meaning units. The meaning units are called morphemes. Morphemes may be of one phoneme length as in *a* (man), or several phonemes in length as in *Mississippi*. *Cat* is one morpheme; *cats* is two the -s indicating plural. A word may have one morpheme or several: sport, sport*s*, sport*sman*, sport*smanship*.

Two somewhat different analyses of American English have been widely used. The consonants are the same, except for minor differences, but the vowel analyses are not. They are exemplified by two of the most widely used texts in college English language courses: Albert H. Marckwardt's *Introduction to the English Language*, New York: 1942 and W. Nelson Francis' *The Structure of American English*, New York: 1958. Not all the symbols can be readily converted. The most important are listed here:

Marckwardt	
i	(see)
ɪ	(sit)
e	(say)
ɛ	(set)
æ	(sat)
ə	(Cuba)
ʌ	(cut)
ɑ	(father)
u	(loop)
ʊ	(book)
o	(home)
ɔ	(caught)
aɪ	(bite)
ɔɪ	(boy)
aʊ	(cow)
ɚ	(butter)
ɝ	(bird)

Francis

iy
i
ey
e
æ
ɨ (just as adverb)
ə
ə
a
uw
u
$\mathring{o}^w$ (New England short o in old-fashioned coat, stone)
ɔ
ay
ɔy
aw
ər
ər, əhr

In the Trager-Smith analyses (George L. Trager and Henry Lee Smith, Jr., Outline of English Structure, U. S. Department of State: 1951) all the simple vowels: i, e, æ, ɨ, ə, a, u, o, ɔ may be accompanied by glides y, (high and front) w, (high and back) or h, (centering), making a total possible of 36 nuclei, thus allowing for many dialect variations, and nearly exhausting the possible contrasts. Marckwardt's text, planned for an introductory course, was based on the dialect of the northern Middlewest.

There are a few consonantal differences, based on the choices of symbol (Marckwardt's given first) ʃ=š, ʒ=ž, tʃ=č, dʒ=ǰ, ʍ=hw.

THE SUPRA-SEGMENTAL PHONEMES OF ENGLISH

by William M. Austin

By supra-segmental phonemes we mean functional modifications of segmental phonemes by stress (popularly called "accent"; variations in the loudness of vowels and vowel clusters and parts of adjacent consonants), by pitch (variations in the frequency of the sound waves, as notes on the scale vary, stretching over sections of the sentence), and by junctures (degrees and kinds of silence). Some languages, such as Chinese, Vietnamese or Swedish, have a fourth variety of supra-segmentals called "tones" which are pitch variations affecting words or morphemes only. Thus, English is fortunately spared. Vowel length is sometimes included here, but again, this does not affect English; when one talks about "the long a" in *late* one is really talking about a spelling device--a single consonant followed by a "silent" *e*--which indicates the sound /ey/.

Let us first consider a phenomenon that is unmarked in our writing system, word accent or, more precisely, stress. We will all admit that *cónvict* is a noun and *convíct* is a verb; they differ in functions and meaning. In words like *príncess* vs. *princéss* or *ádult* vs. *adúlt* the difference is not one of function or meaning, but of style, the latter being considered somehow or other "classier". At any rate, while there is some freedom, as with *princess* and *adult* above, the stress has a fixed place and to misplace it would create a "foreign" or humorous effect or, at times, incomprehensibility. *Actress* and *apart* must have the main stresses where they are and who would understand *davénport*? How many stresses are there in English? The above material gives us at least two, a strong one /´/ and a weak one /˘/. The weak one need not be indicated, *if* there are only two. *The graduate* has a strong stress on *grad* and a weak stress everywhere else, but *to graduate*, with the strong stress still on *grad* has an intermediate stress on the last syllable, *grádŭàtè*. Here the argument might be raised that the sound ends in the relatively "weak" /it/ while the verb ends in the relatively "strong" /eyt/. If this were always the case /`/ would be automatic and hence not a phoneme, but one can adduce such expressions as *mĭsspéll* vs. *Mìss Péll*, *Ándy̆'s* vs. *Ándès*, *Dálì* vs. *dólly̆*, and so forth. Therefore, within the range of the word English has three stresses which are functional, that is, provide contrasts (phonemes). Are three sufficient for longer stretches? To answer this we must take up another topic.

The sounds in the word name /néym/, for example, are joined together by what is called internal close juncture. In an aim, however, we hear a very short pause after the n. This is called internal open juncture and is indicated by a plus sign /+/, so we have /æ̆n+éym/ or /ə̆n+eym/. Internal open or plus junctures generally occur between words, but not always. The phrase in the house is normally said with in and the in close juncture /ĭnðə̆/ as anyone can affirm by noting that the tongue touches the upper front teeth and the n is thus abnormally dental [n̪]. The words water or actor may sometimes be pronounced "distinctly" as /wóh+tə̆r/, /æ̆k+tòr/; the aspirated /t/'s here, which normally occur initially, show that some silence has preceded. Although the plus juncture is only about half the duration of segmental sounds, 7 centiseconds versus 15 css on the average, its importance in linguistic differentiation is considerable. By it we distinguish such utterances as scold and S'cold (It is cold), /skówld/, /s+kówld/ (Hill, 1958), or School today and S'cool today, /skúwl/, /s+kúwl/, (Trager, Smith, 1951), or a nice man versus an ice man, I scream versus ice cream. The teacher can readily think of more and students will enjoy finding them for themselves.

Now that we have established the plus juncture we can return to the number of possible stresses in the English phrase or sentence. A favorite example (Trager, Smith, 1951) is elevator operator, where each said in isolation has the primary stress on the first syllable. Together, with a plus juncture between, we have élĕvàtŏr+ôpĕràtŏr with a secondary stress /ˆ/ replacing the second strong one. One can reverse this and come out with êlĕvàtŏr+ópĕràtŏr which would carry some such message as "I said 'elevator operator', not 'elevator starter'". Another well-known, almost notorious, example of Trager and Smith is the triad of the white house, the White House and the White house (the house belonging to the Whites). The first is thĕ+whîte+hóuse, the second is thĕ+whíte+hoùse, the third is thĕ+whíte+hoûse. Non-native speakers of English and occasional mistakes of native speakers can produce some ludicrous results. A Frenchwoman I know said "she has the shôrt hánd" (instead of shórt+hànd) which made it sound as though the person were deformed. She also said sleêpinğ+pílls (signal: the pills are sleeping) instead of sleépinğ+pîlls (pills for sleeping). I have heard native speakers say "the car hit a lîght+póle" (message: a slim Polish person was hit) instead of líght+pòle and he lives in the bíg+hoùse (message: a prison) instead of bîg+hoúse (a house which is large). Again teacher and student alike can think of many such examples, a not-too-boring way of acquiring some insights into parts of English syntax.

The alert teacher of English grammar can now view the important connection between the four phonemic stresses /´^`˘/ and the grammatical categories of "parts of speech". Nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs must have one stress that is either ´ or ^. ^ is a replacement of ´ since ´´ cannot occur (cf. *elevator* *operator* above) and, conversely, any word that has these stresses must belong to one of these categories. Pronouns and adverbs modifying adjectives (*pretty* good) have one tertiary stress /`/ and conjunctions, articles and prepositions usually have /˘/. A sequence such as ˘+^+^+´ would indicate article, adjective, adjective, noun (*thĕ*+*lîttle*+*rêd*+*hén*), ˘+`+^+´ would be article, adverb, adjective, noun (*ă*+*prètty*+*gôod*+*idéa*), `+´ would indicate pronoun plus noun or pronoun plus verb (*hìs*+*rún* or *hè*+*rúns*). Adverbs modifying adjectives, prepositions, articles, and conjunctions must acquire one of the two strongest stresses when they assume the syntactic or morphological functions of nouns, verbs and adjective, as *thĕ*+*vêry*+*thíng*, *thê*+*mán* (the only one), *hè*+*ûpped*+*thĕ*+*príce*, *thĕ*+*îns*+*ănd*+*óuts*+*ŏf*+*ìt*, *nò*+*ânds*+*îfs*+*ŏr*+*bŭts*. Stresses not only differentiate lexical meaning but play a role in syntactic meaning as well.

We have noted above that two, or more, primary stresses cannot occur in certain sequences; we say *thĕ*+*hôuse*+*ĭs*+*néw*, *thĕ*+*nêw*+*hoúse*. If we reverse ´ and ^ we are saying different things--*the* *hóuse* *is* *nêw* (but something else is old), *the* *néw* *hoûse* (not the old one). If only one primary stress is permitted within a stretch, what are the boundaries of a stretch? These boundaries are indicated by the terminal junctures. In English there are three and all languages must have at least two. These pauses or junctures are at least twice as long as a plus juncture and may be much longer. These are (1) a pause, often indicated by a comma, where the voice is held level, indicated by a single bar (or by →), (2) a pause, sometimes indicated by a period, comma or question mark, preceded by a fall in the voice, indicated by a period, comma or question mark, preceded by a fall in the voice, indicated by a double cross # (or by ↘), and (3) a pause, indicated by a question mark if there are no question words like *what*, *how*, *who*, preceded by a rise in the voice level, indicated here by a double bar || (or by ↗). Some illustrations of these terminal junctures are: *yoù're+ă+gôod+mán*|*Chârlie+Brówn*#, *òf+thĕ+péople*#*bỳ+thĕ+péople*#*fòr+thĕ+peóple*#, *hè's+gône+tŏ+schoól*# (statement), *hè's+gône+tŏ+schoól*|| (question), *hôw+dŏ+yoù+feél*# (question), *hôw+dŏ+yoù+feél*|| (polite, or interested question). One and only one primary stress occurs in each stretch before a major juncture; if items are to be equally stressed, as with *people* above, terminal junctures (here either | or #) must be interposed. If a stretch ends in | it is not a phonlogical sentence. If we hear *he's gone to school*| and nothing follows we feel like asking *and then what?* We have heard an incomplete sentence, one ending in a "comma". After the student has mastered the basic idea of the three terminal junctures, their importance in English can be further established by the ludicrous effects that sentences like the following, with misplaced junctures, produce:

What are you doing#now||
Where've you been#lately||
What are we having for breakfast#John||
How do you#do||
What's the latest#news||

These are quite easy to concoct.

The last of the suprasegmental phonemes of English are the pitches, also called sentence intonations or intonation contours. With pitches the voice gets higher or lower, not louder or softer, as with stresses. These are overall features of strings preceding a terminal juncture, not of words, the way they are in Chinese. The writer believes that there are only three, high (marked as 3), mid (marked as 2) and low (marked as 1). Some scholars, e.g. Henry Lee Smith, Jr., believe that there is an extra high or fourth pitch, but this gets us into the extra-linguistic system of paralanguage (see under "Paralanguage"). A simple declarative sentence with pitch contours indicated in the following: He went to the cleaners# or, for simple convenience, $\overset{2}{\text{He}}$ went to the cl$\overset{3}{\text{e}}$an$\overset{1}{\text{é}}$rs#. The question contour is $\overset{2}{\text{He}}$ went to the cl$\overset{3}{\text{e}}$an$\overset{3}{\text{é}}$rs||. The echo question (did I understand you to say that) $\overset{3}{\text{He}}$ went to the cl$\overset{3}{\text{e}}$an$\overset{3}{\text{é}}$rs||. Or one could say $\overset{2}{\text{He}}$ went to the cl$\overset{2}{\text{e}}$an$\overset{2}{\text{é}}$rs| (and then did something else). Or even $\overset{1}{\text{He}}$ went to the cl$\overset{1}{\text{e}}$an$\overset{1}{\text{é}}$rs#, indicating hopelessness or total disinterest. The practice is to mark the pitch at the start of the string, at the one primary stress (the first syllable of cleaners in this case) and before the terminal juncture. Ideally, all segmental and suprasegmental material relevant to the message should be indicated as,

$\overset{2}{\text{h}}$ìy+wêntə̆+ðə̆+k$\overset{3}{\text{l}}$íy$\overset{1}{\text{n}}$ə̆rz#

PROBLEM AREAS IN GRAMMAR

This section is not an analysis of English grammar. Instead Professors Card and McDavid have assembled under its various headings the kinds of deviations from Standard English which have been found of greatest importance. It, then, also is a reference which the teacher may wish to consult in the preparation of class exercise.

Nouns

One major difference between standard English dialects and some nonstandard ones is in the presence or absence of a plural ending on nouns resulting in such nonstandard sentences as "The good teacher are interested in their pupils," "Their friend are not helping them," and "There are many thing that I like." It should be noted that many speakers who lack this ending omit it only when a preceding word indicates that the noun is plural and the ending is redundant, so to speak. Such speakers may say "many thing" and "five dollar," but "Good teachers are interested in their pupils." Other speakers may omit the ending in both environments. The general loss of the ending seems more common in some areas than in others; it is a major problem in Chicago inner-city schools, for example.

The teacher who chooses to develop materials for dealing with this problem should keep in mind the three pronunciations of the plural in English (not that students need such analysis) and also the fact that voiced sounds are somewhat easier to hear than voiceless at the end of words. A teaching progression in the order of the /z/ ending (*days*, *birds*, etc.), then the /s/ ending (*cats*, *marks*, etc.) and finally the /Iz/ ending (*wishes*, *judges*, etc.) is likely to work better than the reverse. Since students who have trouble with this ending are also likely to simplify final consonant clusters, so that *field* is pronounced /fil/ and *desk* /dɛs/, some care should be taken not to introduce complex clusters too early. Indeed, for many nonstandard speakers, -*sps*, *sts*, and *sks* all become -*s*, producing problems in the formation of plurals, possessives, and the third person singular of verbs.

The nature of the initial sound of the word following the plural ending should also be considered. Again, vowels and voiced consonants make the plural ending stand out more clearly, so that the /z/ on *girls* in a phrase like "the girls and their mother" is likely to be heard more clearly than the one in a phrase like "The girls tricked their mother." These same suggestions for the development of teaching materials apply also to the third person singular ending ("he walks") and to the possessive ending ("John's cap") because all three endings have the same phonological variations: /Iz/ after the six homorganic sounds of /s/, /z/, /č/, /ǰ/, /s/, and /ž/, /š/ after other voiceless sounds, and /z/ after other voiced ones.

Of all problems occurring with nouns, this omission of the plural inflection is most important. Worth noting is a use of an apparent singular in a phrase like "six foot tall" or "ten mile away." Constructions like these involve the plurals of certain nouns of measure--words like pound, mile, acre, foot--and may appear in the speech if not the writing of those whose noun forms are otherwise standard. That is, a person who says "ten dollar", "some good boy" will probably say "six foot tall," but the converse is not true, as many sports announcers evidence. The apparent singular in a phrase like "six foot tall" is historically not a singular at all, rather the relic of an Old English genitive plural form, the same that appears in phrases like a "six foot fence" and "a ten mile hike," where standard and nonstandard English alike have kept the historical forms foot and mile before nouns though not as the head of a construction or before adjectives or adverbs. The teacher who wants to work with such constructions--and it is questionable whether this time is worth spending--should concentrate on such common words as foot and mile, and develop contrasting pairs in which these words in standard English are the head of a construction or modify a following adjective or adverb or modify a following noun. Thus we find such pairs as:

"five pounds"	but	"a five pound sack of sugar"
"six feet tall"	but	"a six foot fence"
"ten miles away"	but	"these ten mile hikes"

Some irregular nouns whose plurals are formed by a change in the base vowel may also cause trouble. Most common among these are such pairs as foot-feet, man-men, and tooth-teeth, and such analogical 'double' plurals as feets or mens are not unheard. Since the pattern by which the standard form of these plurals is formed is now a dead one, the forms can be taught only with the few words involved, in such pairs as "Tom jumped one foot but Bill jumped three feet," "Tom has only lost one tooth, but Bill has lost three teeth."

Nouns with zero plurals--sheep, deer--are rare in modern spoken English outside of a number of terms for game, fish, and animals. Should it be felt desirable, such analogical plurals as sheeps can be handled in similar contrastive drills.

Besides the plural, the other regular inflectional ending for English nouns is the possessive, as in "the boy's cap," "Mary's book," etc. The method of formation is the same as that for noun plurals and the third person singular of verbs: /Iz/ after the homorganic sounds /s/, /z/, /š/, /ž/, /č/, and /ǰ/, /s/ after other voiceless sounds, and /z/ after other voiced ones. Speakers who omit the ending on one of these noun forms generally omit it on the other. The plural inflection is much the commoner in spoken English, and the teacher would be wise to concentrate here. The absolute form of noun possessives never appears to lack the ending. That is, a person who would say "That John book" would not say, "That book is John," (Not all speakers have such absolute constructions for noun possessives.) Thus a teacher who wants to work on the use of noun possessives could consider contrastive pairs like "That book is John's," and "That is John's book." Again, attention should be given to the sounds with which the noun to be inflected ends and to the nature of the following noun. Such practice might well be combined with similar practice with personal pronouns: "That book is mine," "That is my book"; "Those books are yours," "Those are your books," "These books are his," "These are his books," etc.

Pronouns

Some further differences between standard English dialects and various nonstandard ones occur in the forms of pronouns. Among these differences are varying forms of the personal pronouns, represented below in a table with the conventional names:

	Subjective	Objective	Possessive	Intensive -	Reflexive
1st person sg.	I	me	my	mine	myself
2d person sg. + pl.	you	you	your	yours	yourself, yourselves
3d person masc, sing.	he	him	his	his	himself
3d person fem. sg.	she	her	her	hers	herself
3d person neuter sg.	it	it	its	its	itself
1st person pl.	we	us	our	ours	ourselves
3d person pl.	they	them	their	theirs	themselves

Considerable variety and inconsistency will be noted in this table, the result of historical developments over the past fifteen hundred years. Except for the second person--*you* and related forms--all these persons distinguish singular and plural. The third person singualr alone distinguishes gender--masculine, feminine, and neuter. The forms *you* and *it* are found in subjective and objective positions alike; they are unchanged in sentences like "You like Jim," "Jim likes you," "It hurt Jim," and "Jim broke it." In the set *her* is unique in being unchanged in objective and possessive. The absolute possessive forms, those found in sentences like "It is mine," "It is yours," etc. have a variety of patterns. *Mine* retains the /n/ it had in Old English. *His* and *its* are the same as the regular possessive, and *yours*, *hers*, *ours*, and *theirs* add an /s/ (pronounced /z/ because of the nature of the preceding sound) by analogy with the metnod of forming the possessive of nouns. The intensive-reflexive forms are also inconsistent. All these varying forms seem arbitrary, and the words are among the most commonly used in English. It is not surprising that problems arise with their use.

One common problem with these words occurs when a pronoun with a distinctive subject form--_I_, _he_, _she_, _we_, and _they_--is joined by a conjunction either to another pronoun or to a noun and the compound phrase is used as subject of a sentence. Here speakers of nonstandard English often substitute the objective form, giving sentences like "Jim and me work together," and "Him and me are going out." This substitution is the source of so much censure that teachers should give it some attention.

Curiously, the reverse substitution, the use of the distinctive subjective forms in objective position as direct objects or objects of prepositions, is rarely noted. A sentence like "It is very pleasant for my husband and I to visit our relatives" is far less likely to attract attention than "Him and me have been working together"; nor is the same person likely to utter both. The former is characterized by some attempts at elegance. The feeling that the subjective form is "inherently" superior is responsible for some of these occurrences. Such a feeling is probably the partial result of decades of drilling to say "It is I" rather than the natural colloquial "It's me"; but examples of this use of subjective forms in objective positions is too old for school drills to be entirely responsible. The teacher who notices a sentence like "It is pleasant for my friend and I to be with you" can probably find more profitable areas of improvement in his students' language.

"Between you and I" is a somewhat special example of the preceding problem. So much attention has been given to this one phrase that a teacher may want to consider teaching the correct "between you and me," perhaps as a fixed form like _antidisestablishmentarianism_.

The use of the objective forms--_me_, _him_, _her_, _us_, and _them_--after forms of _be_ as in sentences like "It's me" and "That's him" is a matter where the teacher will have to establish some priorities, and the chances are great that other matters are more pressing. "It's me" has been standard informal English for a long time, and "It's us" is on its way to joining it. "It's they" is so stilted that many English teachers would not feel comfortable with it and would instead relax with "It's them." Historically, of course, such expressions as "It's me, it's him' it's them" result simply from the pressure of word order: the objective forms are the ones most commonly found after the verb.

A somewhat special case should be made for the use of *he* and *she* when answering the telephone in phrases like "This is he speaking" or "This is she." In this circumstance the subjective forms remain the preferred one. The use of these forms may well be taught apart from "grammar" and in the context of "manners."

The possessive forms *your* and *their* furnish a special set of problems: for some students who do not pronounce postvocalic /r/ in a word like *car*, these words may appear in writing as *you* and *they*. This may be a question of pronunciation of all postvocalic /r/ sounds. For other students who write *you* and *they* for *your* and *their*, a grammatical change analogical to the loss of the possessive suffix on nouns ("Mr. Brown hat") may be involved. At any rate, whether due to phonological or grammatical change, the oral loss of postvocalic /r/ in unstressed positions is probably well ignored for more fruitful topics. As was mentioned earlier, the loss of the inflectional *s*, pronounced /s/, /z/, and /Iz/ depending on the preceding sound, is a different matter, since the loss of this suffix does not fit in with phonological or grammatical changes in standard English.

Another set of problems arises with the absolute forms of the possessive pronouns: *mine*, *yours*, *his*, *hers*, *its*, *ours*, and *theirs*. Owing to their different methods of formation between *mine* and the others, analogy has operated to give two types of forms. The older operation of analogy resulted in /n/ being added to *your*, *his*, *her*, *our*, and *their*. All these forms are still heard and seen today, with *hisn* and *theirn* the more common. More recently in some nonstandard dialects, *mine* has been subjected to the workings of analogy and *s*, pronounced /z/, added to it so that it is consistent with the pattern of the others.

The reflexive-intensive forms--*myself*, *yourself*, *yourselves*, *himself*, *herself*, *itself*, *ourselves*, and *themselves*--provide yet another set of problems, the result of their being formed in different ways. *Myself*, *yourself*, *herself*, *itself*, *yourselves*, and *ourselves* are formed by adding the suffix to the objective form, and by analogy with the competing pattern *hisself* and *theirselves* appear.

The interrogative pronouns *who* and *whom* furnish examples of problems which probably need not concern a teacher whose students language has matters of more pressing social importance. One of these is the alternation of *who* and *whom* in questions, the standard use of which parallels the alternation between subjective and objective forms of the personal pronouns. In some varieties of rather formal spoken standard English, *who* is used for the subjective form in sentences like "Who is it?" and *whom* for the objective form in sentences like "Whom did you see?" The pressure of word order, of course, is such that *who* has replaced *whom* in the second sentence in the informal speech of otherwise impeccable speakers. Just as *me* in a sentence like "It's me" comes from the feeling that the objective form is somehow right at the end of a sentence, so *who* in a sentence like "Who did you see" comes from a feeling that the subjective form is right for the first word in a sentence. Before campaigning on the "proper" use of *whom* in oral questions--and written questions with these words are rare--a teacher should be very sure that this is energy well spent.

When *who* and *whom* are used as relative pronouns, as in phrases like "the man who lives next door" and "a man whom I know," the practice in edited writing conforms invariably to the use of *who* in subjectives functions and *whom* in objective ones. But again, most teachers of students from disadvantaged backgrounds will find more significant problems.

Today *which* as a relative pronoun is used with nonpersonal antecedents rather than with personal ones. All editors would alter "my aunts, which live in St. Louis" to "my aunts, who live in St. Louis." This use of which with a personal antecedent is common among speakers of the various varieties of nonstandard English, and its historical background is without question: many of us still say "Our Father, Which art in Heaven." Few texts or manuals of usage note this construction, and the teacher who notes it may find it more useful to consider it a clue that other problems may exist than to attack it directly.

The demonstrative pronouns--*this*, *that*, *these*, *those*--also have nonstandard variations which the teacher should consider. One of these is the replacement of *those* by *them* yielding *them boys*, *them pencils*, etc. A second development to which a teacher should give attention is the use of such compound demonstratives as *this here*, *these here*, *that there*, *those there*, and *them there*. All these latter forms are also ones for which various teaching devices should be developed with a view to supplementing them with the standard forms. (For example, contrast "this here girl" with "this girl here," which is standard spoken English.)

Verbs

No part of speech furnishes more usage problems than the verb, both because of the number of irregular verbs (including such "structural" verbs as the forms of *be*, *have*, and *do*) and because of the complexity of the structures into which verbs enter. The nature of these problems will become clearer if we look first at questions which affect most if not all verbs, then at some problems with auxiliaries, and finally at irregular verbs.

Perhaps the most important problem with verbs is the omission of the third-person present -*s* ending, which results in such constructions as "he like" and "it seem." This ending is phonetically identical in its forms with those of noun plurals and noun possessives: it is sounded as /Iz/ after the six homorganic sounds /s/, /z/, /š/, /ž/, /č/, and /ǰ/, as /s/ after other voiceless sounds, and /z/ after other voiced ones. Sometimes but not always this ending is in free variation with zero in the third person present singular and in other present forms as well, giving not only "he like" but "I likes" and "they seems."

Phonetic factors complicate the articulation of this inflectional ending: after -*sp*,-*st*, and -*sk* the pronunciation of a final -*s* is not easy, and many speakers of English assimilate such clusters to -*s* or simply use -*sp*, *st*, and -*sk* to end noun plurals, noun possessives, and the third person singular present. A further complicating factor is the use of the uninflected form in questions ("Does he like"), in negatives ("He doesn't like") and in negative questions ("Doesn't he like). While in all these a third person singular present marker is present in the auxiliary, it is missing in the verb that has the main lexical meaning in the clause. Further, in all varieties of English, questions may be asked in informal speech without the auxiliary if the intonation is appropriate: "You going up to the reunion this weekend?" "She a friend of yours?"

In English both positive and negative questions will be asked with an unmarked main verb, as in "Jim steps out a bit. Does Mary *know* it?" and "Jim steps out a bit? Doesn't Mary *know* it?" will both elicit the response "Yes," followed by "she does," "she knows," or "she does know." And the fact that both types of questions are so often heard with omission of the initial auxiliary may contribute to the omission in such present tense declaration patterns as "he like." "she do."

The establishment of standard patterns for this verb form should take into account the phonetic problems already mentioned; some consonant clusters are more difficult to hear and to articulate than others, and some are more clearly heard and articulated when the following sound is a vowel or voiced consonant. A verb whose stem ends with a vowel (pay, lie, toe, etc.) will be a better word to begin with than the word *possess*, for example.

Drills or questions constructed on the pattern of the following may furnish some suggestions for teachers:

Q. "Why does he ride his bike to school?"
A. "He rides his bike to school because he likes to."
Q. "How does Tom hit a two-bagger?"
A. "He hits them by aiming between the shortstop and the third-baseman."
Q. "Where does Tom ride his bike?"
A. "He rides it out in front of his apartment."
Q. "I work every day except Sunday. What does Jim do?"
A. "Jim works every day except Sunday too."

Drill on the forms of *do* may be worked into drill using similar patterns:

Q. "Does he ride his bike to school?" A. "Yes, he does."
Q. "Do they live near here?" A. "Yes, they do."

Drill on the forms of *say*, for which the pronunciation of *says* and *said* (pronounced not /sɛz, sɛd/ but /sez, sed/) are also a problem, may similarly be worked in.

The pronunciation of the preterit and past participle of regular verbs is often a problem for the same students who have difficulty with the other inflectional endings. For them, "He promised" appears as "He promise." The phonetic principle underlying the formation of this form is the same as that for the noun plural and possessive and the verb third person singular present: the homorganic sounds, here /t/ and /d/, have the extra syllable, /Id/, added; other voiceless sounds take a voiceless ending, in this case /t/; other voiced sounds including vowels take the voiced one /d/. And as with the preceding inflectional endings, such consonant clusters as -*sp* and -*sk* in works like *clasped* and *basked* are particularly difficult.

Pattern drills of such types as the following may be useful:

Q. Tom walked out of the room. What did John do?
A. John walked out of the room too.
Q. When did Tom walk out of the room?
A. He walked out of the room a few minutes ago.
Q. How did Tom like his trip?
A. He liked his trip fine.
Q. Where did Tom work last summer?
A. He worked in the bookstore.

Drills or exercises of these same types may be used for irregular verbs, where one is trying to teach not a regular phonetic pattern but limited though common patterns. Thus for irregular verbs one may develop such drills as:

Q. Where did John teach last year? A. He taught in the city.
Q. Where did John go last summer. A. He went to his uncle's farm.
Q. When did John come to the city? A. He came to the city last May.

Of the irregular verbs, none cause more problems than *be* in its various uses both as auxiliary and main verb. As a main verb *be* itself replaces *am*, *is*, and *are* in many constructions and sometimes has a final *-s* added, not only in the third person singular present slot but in the others, thus giving such forms as "He be my best friend," "They bees here," and "She be in the kitchen." These uses of *be* are not a transfer of subjunctive forms, such as occur in "If I require that he be present," but rather the continuance and extension of old indicative forms.

Here teachers may consider working with such frames as:

Q. Is John here? A. Yes, he is.
Q. Are your friends here? A. Yes, they are.
Q. Am I supposed to work today? A. Yes, you are.

Along with the consideration of the forms of *be* as negative and negative question (He isn't, "Aren't they?") should be linked consideration of forms of *have* and *do* as auxiliaries in these constructions, because in some dialects forms of all three are placed by *ain't*. The result is that "I'm not tired," "I haven't eaten," and "I didn't eat" became "I ain't tired," "I ain't eaten," and "I ain't eat." Similarly, "Isn't he?" and "Hasn't he?" will both become "Ain't he?" Cautioning against the use of *ain't* has obviously done no good, though in some parts of the parts of the country the use of ain't is a real and negative social marker. Anyone who wants to establish alternative patterns should first determine the constructions in which *ain't* is used. As a substitute for forms of *be* and *have* it is more common than as a negative and negative question form for *do*.

In developing drills for this kind of material, the teacher might first use the question and answer frames of the type just mentioned but with answers calling for negative forms:

Q.	Is John here?	A.	No, he isn't.
Q.	Are your books here?	A.	No, they aren't.
Q.	Are you ready?	A.	No, I'm not.
Q.	Have you eaten?	A.	No, I haven't.
Q.	Have I eaten?	A.	No, you haven't.
Q.	Has he eaten?	A.	No, you haven't.
Q.	Did you eat yet?	A.	No, I didn't.
Q.	Does he eat candy?	A.	No, he doesn't.
Q.	Do they like candy?	A.	No, they don't.

Later, standard forms can be worked into drills in which they are not the final word in a response to a question. For some speakers, a further problem with the forms of be is the omission of am, is, and are before predicate nominatives ("She a good girl"); before adjectives ("She happy"); before participles ("He listening to you"); and before past participles ("The dish broken"). For all these, omission is more common when the first word of the clause is a pronoun. In informal speech these verb forms are contracted with the preceding pronoun, or noun, thus giving:

I'm	/aIm/						
you're	/yur/						
he's	/hiz/	she's	/šiz/	it's	/Its/	the boy's	/bɔiz/
we're	/wir/						
they're	/ðɛr/	the boys're	/bɔiz r/	etc.			

In practicing to avoid the omission of forms of *to be*, the teacher should be careful to use these natural contracted forms, and not the full forms:

I am	/aI æm/
you are	/yu ar/
he is	/hi Iz/
we are	/wi ar/
they are	/ðe ar/

The fact that *you're*, *we're*, and *they're*, not to mention *your*, and *their*, end with /r/ is a good instance of the overlapping between phonological and grammatical features. While many standard speakers omit the final /r/ in a word like *their*, they substitute /ə/ for it and in the contractions as well, so that *they're* becomes /ðeə/. Nonstandard speakers may not have the /ə/ either in *their* or in the contractions. While there are grammatical consequences in some nonstandard speech--the omission of these forms of *to be* and the use of *they* for *their* and *you* for *you*--should make one consider whether some attention should not be given to the pronunciation of the final *r*.

Since the contracted form of *has* becomes /s, z, Iz/ just like the contracted forms of *is* ("The cat's had kittens," "The dog's been fed," "The watch's been fixed"), some speakers omit this ending just as they would the contracted forms of *be* ("He eaten"), and further use a form of *be* rather than *have* in questions ("Is the dog been fed?" for "Has the dog been fed"). Here again the first type of drill might be those in which the forms of *have* are the last in the answer to a question:

Q. Has he eaten?   A. Yes, he has.

The reduction of *have* in contractions is more complicated. Here many speakers of standard English use both "I been" and "I've been," "you been" and "You've been" in informal speech: since /v/ is articulated in a position similar to that of /b/, it is easily assimilated when /b/ follows. Those whose writing reflects this assimilation need to learn the practices of writing. Others may need drills of the type described for the omission of the forms of *be* and *have*.

The forms of *be* have one problem shared by no other verb: in its past tense there is one form, *was*, for *I*, *he*, *she*, and *it*, and singular nouns, and another, *were*, for *we*, *they*, and plural nouns. No other verb thus distinguishes between singular and plural preterit forms. The pressures for preterit and past participle have also tended to simplify the distinction in the preterit between *was* and *were*, most often with the result that *was* is used both for singular and plural--"he was" and "we was." Here contrastive drills may be useful: "He was in the library, but they were in the gym." "The teacher was in her office, but the students were in the field."

Adjectives and Adverbs

Problems with the use of adjectives and adverbs are of two kinds: those having to do with the formation of the comparative and superlative degrees and those having to do with the use of an adjective in places where adverbs conventionally appear.

The only inflectional endings for adjectives and adverbs are -*er* and -*est*, both derived from related Old English endings. Today, generally speaking, adjectives of two or fewer syllables in the base use these endings: *hot*, *hotter*, *hottest*; *hungry*, *hungrier*, *hungriest*; But there are exceptions: *useful* is compared with more and most; and *unlikely*, with its prefix, can use the suffixes. Some adjectives, generally those with three or more syllables, use only *more* and *most* for comparison, *beautiful* and *natural* for example. And some adjectives can be compared either way, like *likely*.

While most adverbs of manner are compared by using *more* and *most*--*more quietly*, *most quickly*--some few use -*er* and -*est* in standard English, *fast* for example. Owing to historical changes the adverbial ending these words once had has disappeared, leaving an adverb identical in form with the adjective. *Slow* is another of this group of adverbs, but here an alternative form with -*ly* has developed. In some positions in a sentence *slowly* must be used: "Slowly he left the room." In other constructions one has a choice: "Drive slow" and "Drive slowly."

The principal problem with these inflectional endings is combining them with the use of *more* or most, giving the double comparative or superlative: *more hungrier*, *most happiest*. These were standard in an earlier time--Shakespeare's "most unkindest cut of all" is an example--but today they are regarded as nonstandard.

In some parts of the country present participles are compared with -*er* and -*est*: "He is the lovingest child in the family" and "They are the eatingest boys I ever saw." More generally such forms are used only for deliberate stylistic effects. Past participles too are compared with *more* and *most*: "The most read book in the house." (*Damnedest* is an exception.)

The other general problem with adjectives and adverbs is the use of an adjective where standard English would choose an adverb; resulting in such constructions as "The grass grew rapid after the rain" and "He dances bad." Three pairs of words present special grammatical and stylistic problems in making this choice between adjective and adverb. They are the intensives real/really and sure/surely and good/well, all very commonly used words. As an exclamation, the form sure as in "Sure I want to ride with you" is entirely standard informal usage, as it is in most informal situations. In other words, the use of sure for surely is generally a stylistic matter. The choice between real and really when the syntax calls for an adverb is somewhat similar in standard English. Again it is a matter of style, though real is used somewhat less often as an adverb than sure is. In highly informal situations such sentences as "That was sure some party" and "He did a real bang-up job" would be entirely appropriate. With these pairs the difference between standard and nonstandard English is in command of styles rather than in the observance of a grammatical rule that the -ly form must be used wherever the syntax calls for an adverb.

The pair good/well, adverbs of manner, is somewhat different. Well is of course an adjective in English, and sentences like "He looks well" and "A well person is happier than a sick one" are entirely standard. The problem arises with the use of good as an adverb; "he did good" would surely be judged adversely. When the choice between adjective and adverb form is a problem, drills might be developed with special emphasis on the choice after the verb do: "he did well, he did it poorly," etc.

It is questionable whether work on the pair "feel bad/badly" is worthwhile. Both are now unquestionably standard. The verbs feel, smell,sound, taste, and look when used as linking verbs ("Dinner smells good," "The grass looks good this year") usually are followed by adjectives. But feel badly has come into widespread and standard use as the result of a feeling that after a verb a form with -ly may be preferable.

SYNTAX

It is easier to find features of morphology in which nonstandard speech differs from standard than it is features of syntax. Perhaps the syntactic differences may be summed up by saying that nonstandard speech often lacks the richness of constructions available in the language. Sentences may be limited to a restricted number of basic patterns. They may be short and have fewer modifying elements such as dependent clauses or appositives. The cause-effect relationship may be expressed only by _because_ rather than by such alternatives as _since_, _so that_, _for_, _therefore_, and _thus_ (not all these are stylistically comparable). Sentences of the type beginning _only when_ or _not until_ are rare, and _you_ rather than _one_ is used almost exclusively as an indefinite pronoun.

Some few syntactic problems may be pointed out, however. One of these is agreement of subject and verb when other elements intervene between them in a sentence, as in "One of the many things lacking are adequate recreational facilities" and "The lines of communication between teacher and student is very thin."

A related problem is agreement in number between pronoun and its noun or pronoun antecedent: "If one was given the opportunity to plan these reforms, they would have to know..." "Under these circumstances a student would not only learn the subject matter, but they would also learn how to teach it."

The word _person_ causes many problems of this kind: "A person cannot be successful if they do not have the right qualities." "A person should be given freedom to put their ideals into effect." "A person may have the ability to answer questions but not be a success to themselves." Many of these uses of _person_ or a similar noun in what purports to be more or less formal usage occur where a more experienced speaker or writer would use _one_. Indeed, the inability to substitute pronouns for nouns in a flexible and clear manner is a characteristic of much poor writing.

The formation of direct and indirect quotations, especially questions, and the transform of one into the other raises a number of syntactic questions. To convert "John asked, 'Mary, did you go to the movie last night?" into an indirect question will result in "John asked Mary whether (or _if_) she had gone to the movie last night." Involved are changes in word order--replacing question order with that of declarative sentences--

changes in tense--from did go to had gone--the introduction or whether or if--and in writing, changes in punctuation. Small wonder that some users of English never master this pattern and instead always compromise with what is called an incompletely converted indirect question: "John asked Mary did she go to the movies last night." Here the pronoun is changed from you to she, but the word order is that of questions. Similarly, "The plan of action would involve in what ways could the schools prove beneficial." For many such speakers the use of whether in a sentence like "He asked whether the book was available" just does not occur.

Yet it would be inaccurate to say that the use of these incompletely converted indirect quotations is confined to non-standard English: They occur in the speech of those with impeccable social and educational backgrounds. What is true is that these latter speakers have the ability to use the completely converted question and do so, whereas many non-standard speakers are not able.

It is difficult to determine how much stress should be put on this feature. A sentence like "The governor asked could he depend on his supporters" has no place in writing. And the successful transform in a test of "Mary said that she expected to finish my work promptly" (or vice verse) is an excellent indicator of a student's command of English. The teacher will need to weigh this against other problems. In developing teaching materials, it is simplest to start with quotations which are not questions. To change "Mary said, 'I'm hungry" into an indirect quotation results in "Mary said that she was hungry"--a less complex process than changing "Mary said, 'Fred, are you hungry?" into "Mary asked Fred whether he was hungry." It should be noted that while forms of say can be used to introduce direct quotations containing questions, they cannot be used in indirect quotations, and forms of another verb like ask must be substituted.

Noun and adjective clauses present another set of problems. Some English nouns can be followed by either type of clause: "His assertion that he was the Dauphin was not believed" and "The last assertion which he made was not believed." Here the first sentence contains the noun clause "that he was the Dauphin" with that acting as a conjunction and having no grammatical role in the clause itself. In the second sentence "which he made" is an adjective clause with which (or that or zero, both of which could serve as substitutes) acting as the direct object of made. Many of these nouns have to do with mental or verbal activity.

Other English nouns, however, can be followed only by adjective clauses, in which the relative word (or zero) has a grammatical function within the clause. Man, boy, and city are in this latter class. Thus one can say "Chicago is a city in which one can see extremes of wealth and poverty" but not "Chicago is a city that one can see extremes of wealth and poverty in it" for in the second example that has no role within the clause. In a related type of problem the word that is omitted: "Chicago is the only large city you can walk from extremes of wealth to poverty in a few minutes."

Sometimes this incorrect use of a noun clause introduced by that occurs where whose would be expected; and one finds "He's the boy that his father made him get a paper route" rather than "he's the boy whose father made him get a paper route." Whose is virtually nonexistent in relative clauses for many users of English.

The use of zero as the relative word in adjective clauses raises a further question. Its use is perfectly standard in speech in clauses like "A man I know" or "The man you spoke to." In writing the former would perhaps be unchanged, and the latter would almost certainly be rephrased so that the clause did not end with a preposition. Generally the zero relative is direct object or object of a preposition, and almost always the word opening the adjective clause is a personal pronoun or proper noun. Nonstandard English has one use of this relative not shared by standard English--its use as a subject, as in "My friend lives down the street has a new car." While such constructions are most common in speech, they are also found in writing.

The repetition of the conjunction that when used to introduce noun clauses is also a problem, as in "The story presents the idea that if a person is well educated that he will be able to associated with anyone." These repeated that's occur when an intervening element, here the words "if a person is well educated," come at the beginning of the noun clause.

A further problem with that is its replacement by until in so ... that constructions. Thus "His arguments were so persuasive that he convinced even some of his enemies" becomes "His arguments were so persuasive until he convinced even some of his enemies." Again, the construction with until is an old one.

Sentences beginning with *there* are familiar for the questions of subject-verb agreement which they raise, with "there is" often being found where "there are" is called for by the following plural subject. A different problem is the replacement of *there* by *it* in sentences where the word *there* fills an empty "slot" in the sentence and serves largely to signal that the word order is not that of a question. The result in such sentences as "It's a man at the door" not in response to the question "Who's there?" and "It's some children playing outside, again not in response to a question. Here too the construction with *it* is the continuation of an older English usage.

The overuse of the historical present in relating past events ("So he walks into the room and sits down.") is often a characteristic of nonstandard speech, sometimes with the further mark of the third-person singular -*s* being added to other verbs ("I says to him." "Says you!"). Such constructions are rare in writing but are often noted in speech, especially when the -*s* ending is misplaced.

A few more limited points of syntax might be mentioned. One is the use of *done* to indicate completed action, as in "I done told you that I wasn't going to be home till late." Here *done* has something of the sense of *already*.

Another is the use of *whereby* in constructions where *whereas* is meant: "He intended to advance his cause, whereby all he succeeded in doing was to weaken it." *Whereby* is also misused for *so that*: "He went into the city whereby he could apply for his passport."

Irregular or Troublesome Verbs

Most of the verbs we list here are irregular. Not all of them are troublesome, but we have retained even those that are not because it is often convenient for a teacher to have a list of irregular verbs at hand. Some of the verbs listed are regular but are given irregular forms by some speakers. Others are troublesome in various ways that will appear from the items in the list.

The irregular verbs used most frequently in everyday life are those that are already best mastered by the students. This will vary from person to person and from community to community, but if one considers only errors in forms and not errors in spelling, the following verbs will probably cause the least trouble.

bet
blow
broadcast
buy
come
cut
dig
do
draw
drive
fight
find
fly
forecast
freeze
get
give
go
grow
hit
hold
hurt
knit
know
learn
leave
let
make
quit
read
say
see
sell
sew
show
shut
smell
spell
spill
stick
sweat
teach
tell
throw
understand
wed
win

A class of disadvantaged college freshman will get about 90 to 95 percent of the forms of the following verbs right if spelling errors are not counted:

alight
awaken
bend
beseech
bite
break
burn
burst
catch
choose
cleave
dare
deal
drink
dwell
eat
fall
feel
fit
fling
foretell
forget
forgive
hang
hear
heave
hide
kneel
lean
leap
lose
mean
meet
mow
pen
plead
prove
rend
ride
saw
send
shear
shine[2]
shred
sing
sleep
sow
spend
split
spoil
spring
stand
steal
sting
swear
take
tear
think
thrive
undergo
undertake
waken
wear
wet
withstand
write

[2] The superscript indicates the second *shine* in the main list.

The same group would get about 80 to 90 percent of the forms of the following verbs right:

abide
arise
befall
begin
behold
bereave
bleed
blend
bring
build
cleave (to)
cling
cost
dive
dream
feed
foresee
gild
keep
lay
lend
ring
rise
run
set
shake
shave
shoot
shrink
sink
sit
sling
speak
speed
spit
spread
stink
strike
sting
swell
swim
weave
wind

Errors in verb forms will be more numerous for the following:

awake
bear
beget
bid
bind
breed
cast
chide
clothe
cost
creep
drag
fell
flee
flow
forbear
forbid
forsake
gird
grave
grind
hang (a man)*
hew
lade
lead
lie
light
put
rid
ring[2]
seek
shed
shine[1]
shoe
slay
slide
slink
slit
smite
spin
spit
stave in
stave off
strew
stride
strive
sweep
swing
thrust
tread
wake
weep
wring

*If only hanged is accepted for preterit and participle; otherwise it will appear in the final block of verbs.

Some of the words in the list just above are not much needed in everyday life. The teacher must judge how much time to give to them in the light of the potentialities of the student and his expectiations for a career. Probably nothing is gained by drilling a student in the use of words he is never going to need.

In the master list which follows we have listed the accepted forms in capital letters. The forms in lower case listed below the accepted forms are those that have been elicited from culturally disadvantaged students by tests given in the freshman year in college. They are listed in descending order of frequency. A few common dialect forms have been added from the records of the Linguistic Atlas of America.

Where there is more than one acceptable, the first form listed being perhaps somewhat more frequent than the second. Or we have put () around one or more forms. The () mean that the form so enclosed is not as frequent in the United States as the one not so enclosed. The form is acceptable but should not be encouraged.

Occasionally we have indicated by an * after a form that there is something more to be said. It is said immediately after the cited forms rather than postponed to the foot of the page or the end of the list. Sometimes the comment is merely "Archaic." This term means that some while ago the form was accepted but now appears to be old-fashioned or even literary, so that its use in speech and writing should be discouraged.

ABIDE	ABIDED, ABODE* abide abid	ABIDED, ABODE* abide abiden abidden

*Abide is used more often in the sense 'dwell' than in other senses.

ALIGHT	ALIGHTED, ALIT alight	ALIGHTED, ALIT alight alitten
ARISE	AROSE arosed	ARISEN arose risen rose arosen
ASK	ASKED ask axed	ASKED ask axed
AWAKE	AWOKE, (AWAKED) awake awoken	AWAKED, (AWOKE or AWOKEN)* awaken waken

*The participles with o are common in Great Britain but not in the United States. When students are tested for their knowledge of the principal parts of *awake*, *awaken*, *wake*, and waken, there will be a mixture of forms. This need cause no concern as long as accepted forms of these verbs are used in the right slot, since the meaning will be clear. It would be a waste of time to drill students so that they could separate these verbs.

AWAKEN*	AWAKENED awake	AWAKENED

*See note to *Awake*

BEAR	BORE beared	BORNE bore born* boren beared borned bear

*Since the adjective *born* is much more frequent in speech than the participle *borne* and since both words are pronounced the same, it is not surprising that *born* slips into the verb forms.

BEFALL	BEFELL befalled befall	BEFALLEN befell befelled befellen
BEGET	BEGOT begetted beget begat begoted	BEGOTTEN, (BEGOT) begetted begat beget
BEGIN	BEGAN begun begin	BEGUN began
BEHOLD	BEHELD behelded behold beholded	BEHELD behold beholden behelded beholded
BEND	BENT bend	BENT bended

BEREAVE	BEREAVED, BEREFT bereave beraved	BEREAVED, BEREFT bereave bereaven
BESEECH	BESEECHED, BESOUGHT beseech	BESEECHED, BESOUGHT beseech
BET	BET, BETTED	BET, (BETTED) betten
BID*	BADE bid bidded baded	BIDDEN, BID bade bidded biden baded badden

*In the sense 'bid goodbye etc.' Some students pronounce bade like bayed instead of like bad, the usual pronounciation.

BID*	BID bided bade bidden	BID bidden bidded baden

*As at an auction or at bridge.

BIND	BOUND binded bind	BOUND binded bind bounded bonded
BITE	BIT bite	BITTEN bite bit
BLEED	BLED blead bleed bleeded	BLED bleed blead bleded
BLEND	BLENDED, (BLENT)	BLENDED, (BLENT)
BLOW	BLEW blowed blewed	BLOWN blowen blowen blowed blewed

BOIL	BOILED boilt	BOILED boilt
BREAK	BROKE	BROKEN broke
BREED	BRED breed breeded bredded	BRED breed breeded breded breaden
BRING	BROUGHT brang brung	BROUGHT brung bought
BROADCAST	BROADCAST(BROADCASTED) broadcassed	BROADCAST, (BROADCASTED) broadcassed
BUILD	BUILT builded* build	BUILT builded* build

*Archaic

BURN	BURNED, (BURNT)* burn	BURNED, (BURNT)* burn

*More common in British than in American usage.

BURST	BURST bursted	BURST bursted
BUST*	BUSTED bust	BUSTED bust

*Standard only in informal spoken English and its likes.

BUY	BOUGHT	BOUGHT boughten*

*Perhaps acceptable, in such phrases as "boughten bread," but not as the past participle in verb phrases like "had bought."

CAST	CAST casted	CAST casted

CATCH	COUGHT catched ketched kitched cotch	COUGHT catched ketched kitched cotch
CHIDE	CHIDED, (CHID)* chide chidded	CHIDED, (CHID, CHIDDEN)* chide chidded

*More common in British than in American usage.

CHOOSE	CHOSE choose	CHOSEN choosen chose
CLEAVE*	CLEAVED,CLEFT,(CLOVE) cleave cleaven	CLEAVED,CLEFT,(CLOVE, CLOVEN) cleave cleaven claved

*'split'

CLEAVE*	CLEAVED cleave cleft	CLEAVED cleave cleaven cleft

*'adhere'

CLIMB	CLIMBED climb clim clom	CLIMBED climb clim clom
CLING	CLUNG clang clinged	CLUNG clinged clang
CLOTHE	CLOTHED, CLAD clothe clothen	CLOTHED, CLAD clothe clothen
COME	CAME come	COME came
COST	COST costed	COST costed

COST*	COSTED	COSTED

*A verb used in business and governmental circles meaning 'to estimate the cost of (a project etc.).'

CREEP	CREPT creeped crep* crepted	CREPT creeped crepted crep*

*Reflects pronunciation

CUT	CUT	CUT cutten
DARE	DARED dare	DARED dare
DEAL	DEALT dealed deal dole	DEALT dealed deal
DIG	DUG digged*	DUG duggen

*Archaic

DIVE	DIVED, (DOVE) div duv	DIVED, (DOVE) doven diven div duv
DO	DID done	DONE did
DRAW	DREW drow drawed	DRAWN drew drowen drawed
DRAG	DRAGGED drug drag drought	DRAGGED drug draggen

DREAM	DREAMED, (DREAMPT)* dream dremp drimpt drimp	DREAMED, (DREAMPT)* dream dremp drimpt drimp
DRINK	DRANK drink dranked drunk	DRUNK, (DRANK) drinken
DRIVE	DROVE driv druv drived drive	DRIVEN drove driv druv drived drive
DROWN	DROWNED drownded	DROWNED drownded
DWELL	DWELT, (DWELLED) dwell	DWELT, (DWELLED) dwell dwellen
EAT	ATE eat eaten et	EATEN ate eat et
FALL	FELL fall	FALLEN fell fellen
FEED	FED feed	FED feed feeden
FEEL	FELT feeled feel	FELT feeled feel
FELL	FELLED fell falled	FELLED fallen fell felt fellen feeled

*More common in British than in American usage.

FETCH	FETCHED fotch	FETCHED fotch
FIGHT	FOUGHT fit fout	FOUGHT foughten fight fit fout
FIND	FOUND	FOUND
FIT	FIT, (FITTED)*	FITTED, (FIT)

*Certain senses require fitted, as in "His tailor fitted him for a suit" or "His studies fitted him for his career."

FLEE	FLED fleed flew flee	FLED fleed fleen flown flee fleeded flew
FLING	FLUNG flang	FLUNG flang
FLOW	FLOWED flew flown flow	FLOWED flown flowen flowned
FLY	FLEW	FLOWN flowen flew
FORBEAR	FORBORE forbeared forbear forborn forbearen	FORBORNE forbeared forbear forborn forbored forbearen
FORBID	FORBADE forbid forbidded	FORBIDDEN forbid forbade forbidded forbaden

FORECAST	FORECAST, FORECASTED	FORECAST, FORECASTED
FORESEE	FORESEE foreseen foresought	FORESEEN forsaw foresought
FORETELL	FORETOLD foretole*	FORETOLD foretell foretollen foretoll* foretole*

*These spellings reflect the students' pronunciation.

FORGET	FORGOT forget	FORGOTTEN forgot forgetten
FORGIVE	FORGAVE forgiven	FORGIVEN forgave forgive
FORSAKE	FORSOOK forsaked forsake forsaken forsought forsuke forsok	FORSAKEN forsaked
FREEZE	FROZE freezed frozed friz	FROZEN froze freezed frozed friz
GET	GOT	GOT, (GOTTEN)*

*Heard more often in speech than seen in print. Accepted in speech but usually edited out of writing.

GILD	GILDED, GILT gild gilted	GILDED, GILT gild gilden gilted
GIRD	GIRDED, (GIRT) gird girdled	GIRDED, (GIRT) gird girdled

GIVE	GAVE give giv	GIVEN gave give giv
GO	WENT	GONE
GRAVE	GRAVED engraved grave ingraved graven ingrave engrave	GRAVEN, GRAVED engraved grave
GRIND	GROUND grinded grind grounded grund	GROUND grinded grounded grind grund grown
GROW	GREW grow growed	GROWN grew growed
HANG*	HUNG hang hanged	HUNG hanged

*a picture, etc.

HANG*	HANGED, (HUNG) hang	HANGED, (HUNG) hang

*a man. Hanged is considered the prestigious form but hung is growing. Drill in this distinction is probably not worth while.

HEAR	HEARD heared head	HEARD heared head
HEAT	HEATED het	HEATED het
HEAVE	HEAVED, HOVE* heave	HEAVED, HOVE* heave heaven hoven

*Confined to nautical contexts, as "The schooner hove to for the night."

HELP	HELPED holp	HELPED holp
HEW	HEWED hew heown	HEWED, HEWN hewen hew
HIDE	HID hide	HIDDEN hid hide
HIT	HIT hitted	HIT hitten
HOLD	HELD helded	HELD helded
HURT	HURT	HURT
KEEP	KEPT keep keept	KEPT keep keept
KNEEL	KNELT, KNEELED kneel	KNELT, KNEELED kneel
KNIT	KNIT, KNITTED	KNIT, KNITTED knitten
KNOW	KNEW knowed	KNOWN knowed
LADE	LADED lade laden ladened loaded	LADEN, (LADED) lade ladened ladden loaded
LAY	LAID lay	LAID lain
LEAD	LED lead	LED lead leaded
LEAN	LEANED lean leanded	LEANED lean leanded

LEAP	LEAPED (LEAPT) leap	LEAPED (LEAPT) leap
LEARN	LEARNED (LEARNT) learn	LEARNED (LEARNT) learn
LEAVE	LEFT lef*	LEFT lef*

*Reflects pronunciation.

LEND	LENT loaned* lended lend loan loanded lond	LENT lended loaned* loan loanded lend

*Apt enough in meaning, though borrowed from the verb loan, which has been growing in popularity in the past decades.

LET	LET	LET
LIE	LAY laid lied lie	LAIN laid lay lied
LIGHT	LIT, LIGHTED	LIT, LIGHTED lighten
LOSE	LOST losed	LOST lose losed losted
MAKE	MADE	MADE
MEAN	MEANT mean	MEANT mean
MEET	MET meet	MET meet
MOW	MOWED mow	MOWED, MOWN mowen mowned

PEN	PENNED (PENT)* pen	PENNED (PENT)* pen

*Of course not possible in the sense of 'wrote/written,' as in "He penned a letter."

PLEAD	PLEADED, PLED plead	PLEADED, PLED plead
PROVE	PROVED prove	PROVED (PROVEN) provened
PUT	PUT	PUT
QUIT	QUIT (QUITTED)*	QUIT (QUITTED)*

*Now used only in special contexts, as in "He claimed he had quitted the premises before October 1."

READ	READ red	READ red
RENT	RENT, (RENDED) rend rought	RENT, (RENDED) rend
RETREAD*	RETREADED	RETREADED

*a tire

RID	RID (RIDDED) rode	RID (RIDDED) ridden
RIDE	RODE rid	RIDDEN rode rid
RING*	RANG rung rong	RUNG rand

*a bell etc.

RING*	RINGED ring rang ring	RINGED rung rang ring

*'draw a ring around'

RISE	ROSE rise raise raised rised	RISEN rose raise rised raisen
RUN	RAN run	RUN ran runned
SAW	SAWED saw	SAWED, SAWN saw sawned
SAY	SAID*	SAID*

*Sometimes mispronounced as "sayed."

SCARE	SCARED scairt	SCARED scairt
SEE	SAW seen see seed	SEEN saw see seed
SEEK	SOUGHT seeked sook soke seek	SOUGHT seeked seek sook seeken
SELL	SOLD	SOLD
SEND	SENT send sended	SENT send sended
SET	SET sat sit	SET sat sit
SEW	SEWED sew sowed sown	SEWN, SEWED sown sowen sowed sawn
SHAKE	SHOOK shoke shoken	SHAKEN shook

SHAVE	SHAVED shaven*	SHAVED shaven*

*Used only as an adjective, as in "a clean-shaven fellow."

SHEAR	SHEARED shear	SHEARED, SHORN* shoren

*_Shorn_ is used chiefly in figurative senses.

SHED	SHED shedded	SHED shedded shedden
SHINE*	SHONE shined shown	SHONE shined shown shoned shune

*as the sun does

SHINE*	SHINED shine shone	SHINED shine shone

*shoes, silver

SHOE	SHOD shoed shoe	SHOD shoed shoe shodden
SHOOT	SHOT shoot	SHOT shoot
SHOW	SHOWED	SHOWN (SHOWED)
SHRED	SHREDDED (SHRED)	SHREDDED (SHRED) shreden
SHRINK	SHRANK (SHRUNK) shrinked	SHRUNK shrunken shrinken shrinked shrank
SHUT	SHUT	SHUT

SING	SANG (SUNG) song	SUNG sang song
SINK	SANK (SUNK) sinked	SUNK (SUNKEN) sinked
SIT	SAT sit set sot	SAT sit set sitten sot
SLAY	SLEW slayed slay slain	SLAIN slayed slew slayed slewed slewn slown
SLEEP	SLEPT sleep slep* sleap	SLEPT sleep slep* sleap

*Pronunciation spellings.

SLIDE	SLID slide slided sled	SLID slidden* slide sled

*Archaic

SLING	SLUNG slang slinged slanged	SLUNG slinged slunk
SLINK	SLUNK slinked slank slinken	SLUNK slinked slank slinken
SLIT	SLIT slitted	SLIT slitted slite slitten

SMELL	SMELLED (SMELT) smell	SMELLED (SMELT) smell
SMITE	SMOTE smited smite smit smitten smoted smate	SMITTEN smited smite smitted smiten smit smute smote smoten
SOW	SOWED sow sew	SOWN, SOWED sowen
SPEAK	SPOKE	SPOKEN spoke
SPEED*	SPED speeded speed	SPED speeded

*down the road, path

SPEED*	SPEEDED	SPEEDED

*up the motor, the car

SPELL	SPELLED (SPELT)* spell	SPELLED (SPELT)* spellen spell

*Chiefly British.

SPEND	SPENT spend	SPENT spend
SPILL	SPILLED (SPILT) spill	SPILLED (SPILT)
SPIN	SPUN spinned span spon spint spunned spin	SPUN spinned spon spint spunned spin

SPIT*	SPIT, SPAT spitted spitten	SPIT, SPAT spitten spitted

*'expectorate etc.'

SPIT*	SPITTED spit spited spat	SPITTED spit spited spiten

*'pierce'

SPLIT	SPLIT splitted	SPLIT splitted splitten
SPOIL	SPOIL (SPOILT) spoil spolld	SPOILED (SPOILT) spilt spolled
SPREAD	SPREAD spreaded	SPREAD spreaded
SPRING	SPRANG, SPRUNG sprank	SPRUNG sprang sprunk sprong
STAND	STOOD stand stode	STOOD stand stode
STAVE (in)	STOVE (STAVED) stave stoved staven	STOVE (STAVED) staven stoven stave stived stoved
STAVE (off)	STAVED (STOVE) stave stoved staven	STAVED (STOVE) staven stoved
STEAL	STOLE stoled	STOLEN stole stoled stolden

STICK	STUCK stucked	STUCK
STING	STUNG stang stanged	STUNG stunged
STINK	STANK, STUNK stinked	STUNK stinked stank
STREW	STREWED strew strewn straw strow strew	STREWED, STREWN strown strew strewen strowen strawn
STRIDE	STRODE strided stroded strolled strude stride	STRIDDEN strode strided strolled stroded stride stroden
STRIKE	STRUCK stroke struke	STRUCK, STRICKEN* stroke struke striken stroken strock

*Stricken is used only in certain contexts, such as "stricken from the record, stricken by disease, etc."

STRING	STRUNG strang stringed strong	STRUNG strang
STRIVE	STROVE strived	STRIVEN strove strived
SWEAR	SWORE sweared	SWORN swore swuren swaren sweared

③

SWEAT	SWEAT, SWEATED*	SWEAT, SWEATED* sweaten

*Sweated is required in such contexts as "He sweated it out until the examination results were announced" and "The hoodlums sweated the truth out of him."

SWEEP	SWEPT sweep swep* sweept	SWEPT sweep swep* sweept sweeped swepten swepted

*Pronunciation spellings.

SWELL	SWELLED swoll swell swoled swollen	SWELLED, SWOLLEN* swell swellen swolden swoled swoll

*Swollen is used more often after be than after have, as in "The river was swollen after the spring rains."

SWIM	SWAM swom swum swimmed swammed swim	SWUM swam swom swimmed swim
SWING	SWUNG swang swing	SWUNG swang
TAKE	TOOK taken take tuck taked	TAKEN took tuck takened taked
TEACH	TAUGHT teached	TAUGHT teached
TEAR	TORE	TORN tore

TELL	TOLD tolded toll*	TOLD toll*

*Pronunciation spellings.

THRIVE	THROVE, THRIVED thrive	THRIVEN, THRIVED throve
THINK	THOUGHT	THOUGHT
THROW	THREW throwed thrown	THROWN throwen throwed
THRUST	THRUST thrusted	THRUST thrusted
TREAD*	TROD treaded tread trodded	TRODDEN, TROD treaded tread treaden

*'step'

TREAD*	TREADED	TREADED

*water "He treaded water till the canoe reached him."

UNDERGO	UNDERWENT undergone undergoed	UNDERGONE underwent undergoned
UNDERSTAND	UNDERSTOOD	UNDERSTOOD
UNDERTAKE	UNDERTOOK undertake undertaken	UNDERTAKEN undertook
WAKE	WOKE, (WAKED)	WAKED (WOKEN, WOKE)* waken awaken wake

*The participles in o are common in Great Britain, but not in the United States. When students are tested on, their knowledge of the principal parts of awake, awaken, wake, and waken, there will be a mixture of forms. This need cause no concern as long as accepted forms of these verbs are used in the right slot, since the meaning will be clear. It would be a waste of time to drill students so that they could separate these verbs.

WAKEN*	WAKENED	WAKENED

*see note to wake.

WEAVE*	WOVE weaved weave	WOVEN wove weaved weaven weave

*cloth etc.

WEAVE*	WEAVED	WEAVED

*For such figurative uses as "The boy weaved his way through the bushes."

WEAR	WORE	WORN wore
WED	WEDDED (WED)	WEDDED (WED)
WEEP	WEPT weeped wep* weep wepted	WEPT weeped wep* wepted weep

*Pronunciation spellings

WET	WET, WETTED	WET, WETTED wetten
WIN	WON	WON woned
WIND	WOUND wond wind wounded	WOUND wond winded
WITHSTAND	WITHSTOOD withstanded withstode	WITHSTOOD withstode withstand withstanded
WRING	WRUNG wrang wring wrong	WRUNG wrang wringed wrong
WRITE	WROTE writ	WRITTEN wrote writ

A CHECKLIST OF SIGNIFICANT FEATURES FOR DISCRIMINATING SOCIAL DIALECTS

by Raven I. McDavid, Jr.

As an aid to the teacher who is interested in a more efficient approach to the problem of teaching a standard variety of English--for public roles--to those who use non-standard varieties at home, the following list of features (all of which are both systematic and significant) has been drawn up, partly from the collections of the regional linguistic atlases, partly from more intensive local studies.

The emphasis is on those features of the language that recur frequently and are therefore most amenable to pattern drills. It must not be inferred that other, less well-patterned features of English are unimportant as social markers, but only that they do not lend themselves so readily to productive drill. Discriminating the principal parts of irregular verbs, such as past tense saw and past participle seen, is a part of the linguistic behavior that constitutes standard English, but the pattern see/saw/seen is duplicated only by such compounds of see as foresee. On the other hand, the discrimination between I see and he sees is a part of a pattern of subject-verb concord that is faced every time a subject is used with the present tense of a verb.

The list is concerned with social dialects of English and does not include all the problems faced by the native speaker of some other language. For each situation of this last kind one needs special contrastive studies like those being currently published by the University of Chicago Press, Native speakers of Czech or Finnish need to learn the accentual patterns of English; native speakers of continental European languages need to master the perfect phrase in such expressions of time as I have been in Chicago for five years; native speakers of almost every other language need to learn a finer-meshed set of vowel distinctions as between peach and pitch, bait and bet and bat, pool and pull, boat and bought, hot and hut.

The origins of these features are of indirect concern here; that they are of social significance is what concerns us. In general, however, it is clear that most of them may be traced back to the folk speech of England, and that in the United States none of them is exclusively identified with any racial group, though in any given community some of them may be relatively more frequent among whites or among Negroes.

This list is restricted to features that occur in speech as well as in writing. It is recognized that regional varieties of English differ in the distance between the norms of standard informal speech and standard formal writing. They vary considerably in the kinds of reductions of final consonant clusters, either absolutely or when followed by a word beginning with a consonant. The plural of sixth may be /sIks/, homonymous with the cardinal numeral; *bûrned a hóle* may be /bêrndə hól/ but *bûrned my pánts* /bêrn mai pánts/. Similarly the copula may not appear in questions such as *They ready*? *That your boy*? *We going now*? *She been drinking*? The auxiliary have may not even appear as a reflex of /v/ in such statements as *I been thinking about it* or *we been telling you this*. In families where the conventions of written and printed English are learned early as a separate subsystem, differences of this kind cause little trouble; but for speakers of non-standard dialects who have little home exposure to books, these features may provide additional problems in learning to write. It is often difficult for the teacher to overcome these problems in the students' writing without fostering an unnatural pronunciation.

It should be recognized, of course, that cultural situations may change in any community. To take the Southern dialectal situation with which I am most familiar, forty years ago there was a widespread social distinction in the allophones of /ai/.[1] The monophthongal [a·] was used by all classes finally, as in *rye*, or before voiced consonants as in *ride*; before voiceless consonants, however, educated speakers had a diphthong and many uneducated speakers used the monophthong, so that *nice white rice* became a well-known social shibboleth. In recent years, however, the shibboleth has ceased to operate, and many educated Southerners now have the monophthong in all positions; and the numbers of such speakers are increasing. This observation has also been made by James B. McMillan, of the University of Alabama, who added that in his experience the falling together of /ai/ and /a/, so that *fire* and *far*, *hired* and *hard*, become homonymous, was still restricted to non-standard speech. Yet very recently I noticed that this homonym was common on the Dallas radio, in the speech of the women's editor.[2]

It should not be assumed, furthermore, that one will find no other systematic features, discriminating standard speech from non-standard in particular localities. Nor should we be so naive as to expect the speakers of any community to cease regarding the speech of outsiders as *ipso facto* inferior because it is different--even though these outsiders may be superior in education and social standing.

We are all ethnocentric after our own fashion; in our localities we may consider some differences important whether they are or not; and if enough people worry about them, some of these may actually become important. This is the traditional origin of neuroses, as well as the specific origin of the proscription of such useful features of English as *ain't* and the multiple negative. Meanwhile, it is probably good sense as well as good humor to recognize that though the white middle-class Chicagoan often considers the loss of /r/ in *barn* and the like a lower-class feature, the cultivated Southerner often associates the Middle Western /r/ in such words with the speech of poor whites--and that the distinction between /hw-/ and /w-/, as in *whales* and *wails* respectively, is socially diagnostic nowhere in the English-speaking world. The features listed here are diagnostic everywhere, though not all of them occur in every community where differences in social dialects are important.

Pronunciation:

1. The distinction between /θ/ as in *thin* and /t/ in *tin*, /f/ in *fin*, /s/ in *sin*.
2. The similar distinction between /ð/ in *them* and /d/, /v/, /z/.
3. The distinction between the vowels of *bird* and *Boyd*, *curl* and *coil*.

   A generation ago this contrast was most significant among older speakers of the New York metropolitan area; uneducated older speakers regularly lacked it. It has become less important, since few of the younger speakers lack this distinction. But it should still be noted, not only for New York City but for New Orleans as well.
4. The omission, in substandard speech, of a weak-stressed syllable preceding the primary stress, so that *professor* may become *fessor*, *reporter* may become *porter*, and *insurance* become *shoo-ance* or *sho-ance*.
5. In substandard speech, a statistically disproportionate front-shifting of the primary stress, giving such forms as *po*-lice, *in*-surance, *ee*-ficiency, *gui*-tar, etc.

   Front-shifting is characteristic of English borrowings from other languages; in *bal*cony it is completely accepted; in *ho*tel and *Ju*ly acceptability is conditioned by position in the sentence.
6. In substandard speech, heavy stress on what in standard English is a weak-stressed final syllable, giving acci*dent*, ele*ment*, presi*dent*, evi*dence*, etc.

Inflection:

NOUN

7. Lack of the noun plural; Two *boy* came (come) to see me.
8. Lack of the noun genitive: This (is) *Mr*. *Brown* hat.

PRONOUN

9. Analogizing of the /-n/ of *mine* to other absolute genitives, yielding *ourn*, *yourn*, *hisn*, *hern*, *theirn*.
10. Analogizing of the compound reflexives, yielding *hisself*, *theirself*, *theirselves*.

DEMONSTRATIVE

11. Substitution of *them* for *those*, as *them* books.
12. Compound demonstratives: *these*-*here* dogs, *that*-(*th*)*ere* house, *them*-(*th*)*ere* cats.

ADJECTIVES

13. Analogizing of inflected comparisons: the *wonderfullest* time, a *lovinger* child.
14. Double comparisons: a *more* *prettier* dress, the *most* *ugliest* man.

VERB

15. Unorthodox person-number concord of the present of *to* *be*. This may be manifest in generalizing of *am* or *is* or *are*, or in the use of *be* with all persons, singular and plural.
16. Unorthodox person-number concord of the past of *be*: *I* *were*, *he* *were*; *we* *was*, *they* *was*.
17. Failure to maintain person-number concord of the present indicative of other verbs: *I* *does*, *he* *do* (this is perhaps the most widely recognized diagnostic feature)

    Note that three third-person singular forms of common verbs are irregular, *has*, *does* /dʌz/, *says* /sɛz/. In the last two the spelling conceals the irregularity, but many speakers who are learning this inflection will produce /duz/ and /sez/. The form *bees* is also derived from this kind of analogy.
18. Omission of the /-iŋ/ of the present participle: He was *open* a can of beer.[3]
19. Omission of /-t, -d, -ed/ of the past tense: I *burn* a hole in my pants yesterday.

    Note that before a word beginning with a consonant the /-d/ may be omitted in speech in *I* *burned* *my* *pants*. Those who normally have this contextual loss of the sound may need to learn the special conventions of writing.

    Note also that the loss of the inflection extends to those verbs that form the past tense and past participle irregularly.

20. Omission of /-t, -d, -əd/ of the past participle.

21. Omission of the verb to be in statements before a predicate nominative: He a good boy.

22. Omission of to be in statements before adjectives: They ready.

23. Omission of to be in statements before present participles: I going with you.

24. Omission of to be in statements before past participles: The window broke(n).

. Note that in questions related to features 21-24 the verb to be may be omitted in standard oral English, though it would never be omitted in formal expository prose.

25. Omission of the /-s, -z, -əz/ reflex of has before been in statements: He been drinking.

Note that this omission may occur in questions in standard oral English, and also that in standard oral English many educated speakers may omit the /-v/ reflex of have: I been thinking about it; we been telling you this. Needless to say, this omission would not occur in standard expository prose.

26. Substitution of been, done, or done been for have, especially with a third singular subject: He done been finished. In other person-number situations done, at least, often occurs in standard oral English, as I done told you that three times.

NOTES

[1] This observation was made, *inter alia*, in my analyses of the pronunciation of English in the Greenville, S. C., metropolitan area, presented to the Linguistic Society of America at its meetings in New York City (December, 1938) and Chapel Hill, North Carolina (July, 1941).

[2] The monophthongal Southern /ai/ disturbs many Easterners and Middle Westerners. Some Philadelphians, for instance, allege that Southerners confuse *ride* and *rod*; some Detroiters, that they confuse *right* and *rat*. They do not; the confusion exists in the minds of the Eastern and Middle Western observers.

[3] The distinction between /-iŋ/ and /-in/ has no social significance. Both forms may be heard in educated speech, depending on the region from which the speaker comes and the style of discourse he is using.

NON-VERBAL COMMUNICATION

by William M. Austin

I. General

It should be obvious that most of the acts of our lives are acts of communication. It is only a little less obvious that a great many, perhaps a majority, of these acts are non-verbal. Fighting, love-making, dancing, the way we dress, the selection of a hat or necktie, the way we sit, a leg-cross, a shift of the pelvis, rigidity of the spine, the way the wrist is held, lid closure, eyebrow raising, pointing (there are many ways of doing this), laughing, crying, sighing, and many others are all communicative acts. We even communicate by the way we smell (or don't), although this is less well understood than some of the other modalities. Many of these acts are "in-awareness" and many are "out-of-awareness." We learn something in-awareness when we are conscious of being taught; we learn spelling, arithmetic and, for the most part, table manners in this way. Our native language, vocal noises and body movements, on the other hand, are learned almost exclusively out-of-awareness. Things learned out-of-awareness are generally learned early in life and learned best; they are the last to be forgotten and the most difficult to be eradicated. It is for this reason that languages and other communicative skills should be learned early in life, preferably before school age.

We have yet to define communication in general and this may be difficult. A situation in which one organism triggers another might seem to be a valid definition. We may be triggered by the sun rising in the morning to get up, but this can hardly be called an act of communication; one partner to the interchange is not an organism. But suppose a wife sets her husband's alarm clock. Is the channel between the ringing clock and the husband a communicative one or is there a delayed communication between the wife and husband? We should probably have to opt for the latter as it is somewhat analogous to the author of a book communicating with his readers. Or leaving out any intermediary, mechanical or otherwise, suppose the snoring of one sleeping partner awakens the other and triggers him into a state of annoyance. Is the first inadvertant act one of communication? We would probably say not. We could modify our tentative definition by saying "conscious triggering of one organism by another" but this would not work either if conscious is taken in its usual sense of "aware". Some communicative signals, a glance, a lid closure, a movement in a chair, are sent at a lower level of awareness, a level that would not normally be called conscious. So let us try the deliberate triggering of one organism by another. This would take care of such things as snoring and accidental bumping. Under this are subsumed an enormous range of activities, mating of primitive organisms, playing bridge, hind-leg rubbing of insects, reading, talking, the spread of the peacock's tail, the shot heard 'round the world, the song of the nightingale, the medieval manuscript illustration, the unfolding of an ivory fan in the Ming dynasty, the first notes of a violin concerto, a dog's tail... It is little wonder that we can say culture is communication. Communication is achieved, in the broadest physical terms, by movement or projection from the self--the pressure of an amoeba, the bushy tail of the fox, the bright colors of a courting fish, the sound waves emitted by the vocal tract, cuneiform on a clay tablet. The stream of life for nearly two billion years on this planet has been toward greater and greater communication and the prize is always greater knowledge and greater awareness. With satellite communications systems we are on the threshold of interplanetary communication.

The vast implications of these prefatory statements seem a little grandiose for a manual of this size and purpose. We are concerned with language and closely related systems in man and with comparisons and analogies of the related systems with those of other animals. *Homo sapiens* is the only animal with language and he has probably had it as long as he has been making tools or has had this label, this is, let us say, a million years. Language is physically produced by the articulated vocal tract, the region between the nose and lips and the vocal chords in the larynx. This system is essentially the same in apes and other animals such as cats, dogs, wolves, foxes, and contains elements that were biologically intended for other purposes. The nose and nasal passages are for the intake of air, the uvula and epiglottis originally met and shut the mouth off from the pharynx, trachea and esophagus. Even the so-called vocal chords were designed to close so pressure could be exerted on the diaphragm, stomach and intestines to facilitate defecation.

Language, then, must be defined in terms other than its physical medium. It differs from other communicative systems in having duality of patterning, that is, it consists of a basic set of elements, from about fifteen to fifty, called phonemes, and a second set composed of these prime elements and far greater in number called morphemes. While there are higher orders of patterning in language, this fundamental duality allows for an open-ended system of immense complexity, too complex to be inherited in the gene structure. Man is born with the capacity for language, with the neural connections that are to be imprinted, but the imprinting must be accomplished by learning.

Other systems of communication exhibit singularity of patterning and are thus closed, of a limited number and capable of being inherited. Man generally learns these other systems but he would undoubtedly have them without learning (the raising of two babies on a desert island by a deaf-mute nurse would still constitute an interesting experiment). Other animals, birds and insects have their communicative systems built into their inheritance, although some learning does take place--some species of birds have been known to alter their song patterns when brought up with other birds. The worker bee communicates the direction, distance and kind of nectar by an inherited haptic and kinesic system. When she returns to the hive she dances a rough figure eight, the center axis of which indicated the direction. The wing beating speed signals the distance and the nectar is passed by contact to the other workers. The wolf signals kinesically his status in wolf society by the height at which he carries his tail, up for high status wolves and between the legs for lowest class wolves. It is true that the wolf does not inherit (at least not entirely) his status, but this reaction to status is automatic.

We have spoken of the act of communication as a projection of the self and questions might arise about how many systems or modalities there are, why there are more than one and how, learned or inherited, they originated. Here we enter a little-known region where biology meets anthropology. Potentialities of communication seem to have followed the development of sensory areas in living organisms. With each development came greater awareness and an increased ability to discriminate among the blobs of environment. Once discriminated, these blobs became the "meaningful units" of the organism--to all intents and purposes, his universe. First came touch or tactility with only two, a pleasure/pain dichotomy with nondistinctive variations--a prodded amoeba will withdraw and it may withdraw from light, but light as pain, not as light. There may be degrees of these two basic principles but the two remain, with varying degrees of stress, as it were. Once other modalities were achieved the repertory of tactile signals could be increased, e.g., by warning and attention taps ("Don't trump my ace.").

It is a truism of elementary psychology that there are only four sensations of taste, at least in man. Taste plays no role (it would be safer to amend this to no significant role) in human communication. It may, however, play a role among other species; it seems to be very important with dogs, for example, but whether this is an independent modality or an adjunct to smell is not known. Smell is certainly an important means of communication with many species, ut with man it is distinctly of secondary importance and as yet little studied or understood. Man has in general abandoned smell in favor of sight and hearing and in the latter has two communicative systems where other animals have one. The degree of its pertinence, however, is a culture-specific. With Arabs, for example, it is quite important: they stand within the olfactory range of each other getting the maximum communicative feedback, tactile (they will hold hands while walking down the street), olfactory (they must be close enough to smell each other), visual and auditory (cf. Edward T. Hall, The Silent Language). Should a Totonac speaker become an anthropologist or psychologist, he might handle olfaction much better than we do for Totonac has at least nineteen words, from eight different roots, for various smells ("the smell of flowers or food," "the smell of mint, parsley, tobacco," "the smell of mushroom mold," "the smell of leather or sweat," etc.,(cf. Eugene A. Nida, Morphology, p. 158).

The development of a sensation area into vision, starting with the fishes, provided vastly more potential stimuli, the raw material for signal units. Here movement, color, change in size become the kinesic, with visual reception, modality of communication. Here are the well-known kinesic messages of the stickleback when its belly turns red, its eyes, bright blue and when it makes circular movements around the gravid female, pointing to the nest it has prepared. Or the courtship and fighting posture of the Beta splendens the Siamese Fighter, with its enlarged fins and more vivid coloring. We are all familiar with the kinesic signals of domestic cats and dogs: the tail up (well-being), wagging from side to side (greeting with the dog, anger or on the hunt with the cat), the zigzag walk of the cat (stay behind), or the half-closed lids and flattened ears of both (aggression, defense). All species with sight, birds, insects, fish, animals, make some use of kinesic signaling but much study, and comparative study, remains to be done in this field. The potentialities of visual communication are immense and it is possible to imagine some science fiction species on another planet who has this as the primary communication modality. With the importance of reading and writing in our own culture some people have the native impression that this is so with us, but one must remember that these are derived from an auditory system.

The last emerging sense of living organisms was hearing, deriving from the development of the middle ear among fishes. With hearing came the possibility of signaling by sound, generally through the throat and mouth for most species but occasionally from other origins such as wings or hind-leg rubbing. Each sound signal system is species-specific for all except Homo sapiens, where it is culture-specific, and these systems we call, in general, paralanguage. Gibbons are said to have at least twenty-seven different vocal symbols and some species may have more. Currently the bottle-nosed dolphin is being intensively studied under the (probably) mistaken belief that, with a larger brain capacity than man's, that friendly and intelligent mammal must have language. This seems impossible for an animal without tools, artifacts or an apparent culture, but there is no doubt of paralinguistic communication. The white-sided dolphin of the Pacific utters a completely different paralanguage and much could be learned from studying the two in the same tank over a period of time. Again, as with kinesics, we are most familiar with the paralanguage of cats and dogs, as far as species other than our own are concerned, and some inter-species communication takes place. Their greeting sounds, attention sounds, complaint sounds, in-and-out sounds are understood by us and our language to them is understood by them as paralanguage, hence, in a very limited way. The cat probably recognizes no words, not even its own names, but the dog knows some, including its name. This does not mean that the dog has a partial command of language, but rather that the dog has learned additional paralinguistic units from man and, while not being able to reproduce them, nevertheless has incorporated them into its system. Other animals are probably capable of doing the same; certainly foxes and wolves are and it would be interesting to know what the dolphin would do. The imitation of human speech by some birds, very good in the case of the myna, must be considered as the imitation of another's paralanguage and non-incorporated and non-systemic as far as the imitator goes.

Man, as has been said, is the only animal who has developed a second vocal-auditory signal system, language. At first one might wonder why this modality was chosen rather than vision which offers greater opportunity for the discernment of discrete units. The vocal-auditory mechanism is as capable of sustaining duality of patterning as is the visual and that is all that matters. The primary reason for the selection of this motor-sensory apparatus is that far less expenditure of energy is involved, as we can see from observing deaf-mutes. It also functions in the dark, around corners, in deep forests and, importantly, when the hands and feet are otherwise occupied.

Man communicates, excluding olfaction, in four modalities. In fighting, love making, or personal conversation all four may be used simultaneously, but in the majority of situations only three are. Communication in the dark may involve only two. Man is fairly strapped when reduced to one but, of course, least strapped if that one is language. Haptics, kinesics and paralanguage will be taken up in more detail.

II. Haptics

Haptics might seem like an unlikely term for what it designates, the study of communication by touching, but it offers greater freedom of derivation than does tactile. We can get the adjectives haptic and haptemic, with the corresponding adverb in -ly, and the nouns hapteme and, unfortunately, allohapt. The derivation is from Greek haptomai "I touch".

Most living organisms communicate, in various degrees, by touching. We can disregard, for the most part, plants and such hermaphrodites as the oyster but most fish have at least two, possibly more, haptemes, namely those of fighting and courtship (cf. the Beta splendens or Siamese Fighter and the male's prodding of the female in the courtship of the stickleback, Hockett, 1961). With the higher mammals haptic activities are considerably more complex and by no means completely understood. They vary between species and between sub-species. With man haptic communication differs from culture to culture and with social strata, sex and age groups within a specific culture, but most members of a culture understand the haptic dialects, e.g. we do not expect children to shake hands with each other (unless adults are present and being imitated) and when a male slaps a strange female on the back he is obviously using some foreign and undesirable haptic language.

Most animal haptic behavior has hardly been studied at all due partly to a lack of methodological techniques and partly to difficulties of observation. But we have some stray bits of information. The highly social animals wolves, for example, greet each other haptically by briefly holding each other's muzzles in their mouths. When a man establishes a social relationship with a wolf, as occasionally happens, his initial conduct must be to hold the wolf's muzzle gently in his hand and then put his face or hand in the wolf's jaws. Amicable social contact is thus established.

Haptic interaction among the domestic animals and between them and man has at least been observed if not systematically studied. Pigs touch each other constantly, sheep, less and cattle, still less. Man has haptic contact with these animals hardly at all but occasionally with cows (a pat between the eyes, on the head or flank). Man has similar haptic communications with horses and the horse sometimes responds with a nuzzle. Whipping or spurring a horse need not be gone into.

On the whole man's communication in this modality with alien species is largely confined to cats and dogs. With the latter his attempts have been highly successful, although sub-species of dogs differ as to the degree in which they use haptics. Generally so called "nordic" dogs (German Shepherds, Spitzes, Siberian Huskies, Malamutes, Schipperkes, and so forth) prefer less touching than "mediterranean" types (hounds, Beagles, Dalmations, etc.). Man may engage in almost any sort of haptic contact with dogs but probably should avoid the tail. The dog, of course, would like to establish a muzzle-to-muzzle contact with man but the human animal generally avoids this. All-important to canine communication is olfaction which we hardly understand or sympathize with, our ancestors having largely abandoned this faculty for the primacy of sight when they took to an arboreal existence millions of years ago. By and large the more haptically involved animals are more dependent on smell. The highly haptic Arabs use olfaction as a communication modality far more than Americans or North Europeans do.

Haptic differences between genera and species of animals are biospecific but differences among humans, where there is only one species, sapiens, are culture-specific; there are no communication distinctions based on race. A Chinese raised in London communicates, on all levels, like an Englishman. An upper middle class American Negro communicates like an upper middle class American white. The many differences that do exist among humans are due to different cultures (including the vertical dimension of class), different sexes, different ages. Age, sex and class are to be considered as sub-variables within a given culture. Inter-cultural confusion and misunderstanding is greater in the non-verbal modalities of communication than in the verbal; the latter, however different, is at least in-awareness while the former have hardly come to our conscious attention. Americans, for example, are accustomed to patting small children (up to about the age of ten) on the head. When we meet Thais, who to us are small and doll-like, we have an almost irresistable urge to pat them on the head. Since the top of a Thai's head is where his soul is connected with heaven this is a very great offense indeed. Thais never touch each other there. Chinese and Japanese, who touch hardly at all, except in intimate relations, dislike shaking hands. When they do this it is distasteful and heroic accomodation to western haptic habits. Russians touch more than Americans and are about midway between the constantly touching Arabs and the non-touching Chinese and Japanese.

The bear hug between American males is reserved for brothers or close friends of long standing before or after lengthy separations. Russian men will engage in bear hugs quite casually, although often vodka-inspired, as a sign of amity. When Khrushchev was interviewed by David Susskind on television during his visit to this country in 1959 he was constantly nudging Suskind with his elbow. This led Susskind to the conclusion that Khrushchev was "an intimate man". Not at all; Khrushchev was simply trying to establish an ordinary Russian haptic rapport. In our country males are absolutely prohibited from dancing together but women may and do. In other cultures it is the reverse. Lacking cross-cultural information on these matters we, and they, resort to a more readily understood explanation, such as sex. But the easy explanation here, as often, is the wrong one.

In the American middle and upper class sub-culture, as in all cultures and sub-cultures, the rules of haptic behavior are established and must not be violated. Messages are signaled by pressure (touch), degree of pressure, repetition of pressure and area of pressure. Corresponding to phonotactics and morphotactics in language, are the permitted source and receptor areas. A male may not touch a strange female for any reason. If he knows her moderately well the touch may be on the hand, arm, shoulder and possibly the back. Further acquaintance would involve matters outside the scope of this manual. Males may touch other males in the communicative process with their palms on the hand, arm, shoulder, back, or briefly on the knee or thigh. With the knuckles as the source there are more permitted receptors. To the above-listed receptor areas the head, cheek, jaw, chest and stomach may be added. The pressure may be light or medium. If the knuckle contact is from a clenched fist and the pressure is heavey, an emphatic form of communication, known as fighting, is involved. It must be remembered that these rules refer only to middle class and up, white, American males of roughly equal status. The handshake in which the source uses two hands, so that the receptor's hand is covered on both sides, indicates that the source is of superior status, either older or with a more prestigeous position. This act cannot be reciprocated. If a minor employee is touched on the arm or shoulder by the president of the company, he does not respond in the same terms. A knesic response of a smile and a slight bowing of the head would be indicated. After a recent Anglo-French conference in Paris British Economics Minister Brown, in a burst of good will, touched

Charles DeGaulle on the arm. There was a gasp from the French and only DeGaulle's affection for the blunt Brown saved the situation.

Women in this same culture have different haptic signals. Friends will embrace and kiss each other on the cheek, a message not of affection but of peer group membership. Men may greet their friends' wives in this way. Lower class American women do not use this hapteme, nor do European women, who are somewhat shocked by this. Children have still other sets of haptic behavior that have hardly been investigated. They touch a great deal, with some non-adult behavior such as ear-tweeking and hair pulling, but normally don't shake hands unless carefully taught or in the presence of adults. Middle-class Negroes communicate haptically the way middle-class whites do. A middle-class Jamaican living in London will use haptics the way an Englishman does. There is at present very little haptic communication between whites and Negroes; both sides, even in well-integrated situations, are still a little afraid of the "don't shove" reaction. This means that communication is incomplete, although people in this situation are not aware of where the incompleteness lies; they have a vague sense of "walking on eggshells". Communication to be complete and natural must be in all modalities that the culture permits and these must take place within the permitted distances.

Cross-cultural studies are in their infancy and there is very little that the average person or tourist can read about it. Guide books contain some random information about not pointing in the orient or about Arabs holding hands but these observations are far from complete and certainly not systematized. If one touches too much he is considered too pushy, aggressive or worse. If one touches too little he is judged to be stand-offish or cold. The best advice is to do nothing until native habits have been carefully noted with due regard to sex, age and social status. The last is particularly difficult for many Americans who, on one level of analysis--the formal--have the feeling that there are no classes in the United States.

The following is a sample attempt at a haptic notation. The left side of the arrow is the source of haptic signalling, on the right is the receptor. The physical areas of both are then indicated. Lines arranged vertically indicate degree of pressure with —— for slight, ══ for medium and ≡≡ for heavy. The number of lines arranged horizontally gives the number of repetitions.

p ══ ══> l sh	two rather heavy pats by the palm on the left shoulder
p —> r k	one light touch of the palm on the right knee (left versus right is probably non-emic or non-significant
f ≡> j	a punch in the jaw
f —> ls a	a fingertip touch on the lower arm (a "woman's touch")
el — —> el	two slight nudges of one elbow against someone else's
ft —> ft	a foot nudge (generally under the table--"discontinue that line of talk" or "watch the card you're about to play" or the like)
kn ══> st	a fairly heavy knuckle touch (mock fist) in the stomach ("you old so-and-so")
k —> k	a knee nudge, for people sitting side-by-side
pp ══> ha	both palms covering another s hand with some pressure
kn — — —> up l a	repeated light taps of the knuckle on the upper left arm; a warning
lp —> ck	a light kiss on the cheek

Very little has been said about what these pats, taps, punches, caresses "mean" and people always want to know what things "mean".

What does a kiss on the lips "mean"? How does it differ from a kiss on the forehead, the cheek, the neck, the palm? What does a strong, vigorous handshake "mean"? Friendliness, sincerity, virility or is it a disguise for the oposite? Meaning involves a knowledge of the total frame, of all current activities, and complete knowledge of the total histories of the individuals involved. The trained investigator should observe, compare and employ a systematic notation. Anything else is, _au fond_, a parlor game. Being human, we must sometimes indulge in parlor games.

III. Kinesics

Kinesics is the study of body posture, tonus and movement in man and the other animals. This discipline is almost completely the result of the investigations of Ray L. Birdwhistell (1952, 1963). Kinesics is a term related to kinetics, but the latter generally refers to mechanical motion. All moveable parts of the body, head, eyebrows, eyes, lips, shoulders, elbows, hands, fingers, the hip, legs, knees, feet and sometimes the toes are involved. Several kinesic activities may occur simultaneously and these, including their notation, can be complicated. One might begin with body stances, which vary according to culture, age, sex and the individual tonus at any particular time. The German male body stance is notoriously stiffer than that of the American, with the shoulders well back, the spine straight, and very little pelvic motion. German soldiers who infiltrated the American lines in the Battle of the Bulge during World War II had to learn, besides American English, baseball, comics, and gum-chewing, a different posture with a more relaxed spine, a slight shoulder slouch and so forth. English body stance is more similar to the American, but the French stance is something different again, with a greater body limpness than that of the American.

The female body stance, of course, differs from that of the male and the difference is only partly biological. Female posture has its focus in the pelvic region while the male normally does not (here we must exclude certain "styles", such as that of Elvis Presley, and hackneyed pansy behavior). However, with American women in business or in public this is often suppressed, with the body, from hip to shoulder, held very rigid in a sort of box-like frame. Occasionally this may be relaxed and the hips start moving sinuously, although on the street this generally is quickly abandoned. In some cultures this is the only approved motion and stance of the female. There is a Japanese saying, "she walks like a hungry tiger", a compliment to the sinuous, sarong-clad motion of women. In classical Japan, on the other hand, the body of the female was tightly encased, the steps were mincing, the head was lowered and the hands often covered the breasts. Every culture has its ideal of the female and her relation to her immediate space. The world of Doris Day is not the only one.

The body base-lines of age groups within a given culture may also differ. The base-line of the aged differs from that of the mature and both, from that of the young.

Teenagers in the United States have more expansive arm and leg movements than adults, more pelvic motion, and slightly hunched shoulders are currently fashionable. Teen-age Negroes, particularly males, sometimes have very marked, angular movements at the shoulders, elbows, and knees, contrasting with the well-known bent shuffle of "Uncle Toms". Here again, culture-, class-, age-, and sex-specifics are the determinants, not race. The body base-line also differs from individual to individual and we sometimes recognize people by this when they are too distant for their faces to be discernable.

Head motions, of course, are dependent on the neck. In our culture, and many others, a left-right motion indicates dissent and a vertical motion, assent. In Greece, however, an upward head movement is the signal of agreement. The head may be tilted to the side, indicating attention or the pretense thereof. A quick side turn ("toss of the head") on the part of the female is considered flirtatious or at least not indifferent. Eyebrows are capable of several degrees of elevation and some people can move them separately. Most people can distinguish four degrees of lid closure, wide open, half open, slits and complete closure, but Birdwhistell claims to be able to detect twelve. Again, one must be careful of assigning "messages" or "interpretations". The immediate frame must be considered, as well as the usual cultural, social, age and sex parameters. A man's slit lid closure could indicate visual adjustment on a ski slope, fighting trim in a boxing ring or a preliminary sexual advance in a dimly lit room. A young girl's wide open lids is a parallel signal to a high-pitched, oral paralinguistic one ("helplessness", "innocence"), while a man's might indicate suprise or a question. The nostrils sometimes seem to "flare" but this is normally caused by eyebrow movement. (Ear movements, if any, are not knesic communication but physiological stunts). The lips may be slack, tight ("tight-lipped"), pursed, or the lower lip may be drawn under the upper teeth ("agonizing reappraisal"). In some cultures discreet pointing is done with the upper lip. In our culture we sometimes point with the chin, tilting the head slightly.

Shoulder and arm movements are important signalers of kinesic information and suppression of their movement, as when soldiers are at attention, indicates that the suppressed are not to send information, but to receive it, to "take orders". In fact, when human beings are on the receiving end of an information exchange, the senders prefer that all communication modalities, linguistic, paralinguistic, kinesic and haptic, be suppressed. This can only be done under certain circumstances, in the classroom, in church, in military situations, but all our lives, when we are talking, we don't like people to "fidget" and wish they would "sit still and pay attention". Shoulders may be hunched slightly, often a sign, when not part of the permanent base-line, of "coolness" among the young, or held back ("bracing oneself" for something). We shrug our shoulders, of course, but in some cultures, as that of France, this is done more markedly and frequently. Women tend to move the lower arms only, with the pivot at the elbows, more than men who will frequently move the whole arm with the pivot at the shoulders. East European Jews often keep the elbows close to the body, gesturing with the lower arms. In all dances of the world the one in which the arms are most inactive and limp is the Irish jig. Let the reader make of that what he wants to.

Hand movements and where and how the hand touches are most important. In our culture, and in most Western ones, we point with the hand or forefinger, although, when we get technical about it, we consider it too obvious (we say "rude"). Except with children, this is generally used in rather gross communication situations, by the police or in giving directions. This can be subdued by pointing with the back of the hand, a knuckle, the head or chin. Orientals cannot stand being pointed at, even with a foot or spoon, and this should be a part of everyone's cross-cultural information. Men tend to keep the fingers slightly curled and touch more with the palm than women, who more often will have the fingers outstretched and separated and touch more with the fingertips. These manual kinesics are illustrated nicely in the comic cartoons "Penny" and "Bill". A female may put her fingers and palms on her hips, a male may not, although he may touch his knees and buttocks in this way. For his hips he must use his fist or a thumb under a belt. The male in general makes more use of the thumb than does the female. The hand may stroke the chin ("thoughtful consideration") or pull the earlobe ("perplexity") or cover the mouth, the latter often an indication of embarrassment--one is hiding behind something. The exposed palms, often with the arms slightly outstretched and co-occurring raised eyebrows and lids, can be read as "It's not my fault," "I didn't do anything," "I'm innocent." Again, the frame must always be considered; a jerk of the thumb is a signal for a lift on a highway or for someone to leave the office when made by an executive. Kinesic hand signals often parallel paralinguistic and linguistic messages. The sentence "Look at the cute dish" may have the linguistic-paralinguistic accent (primary stress and over-loudness) on look, that, cute or dish. On whichever one it may occur a kinesic emphasis marker, if given, must also occur. This emphasis marker is a movement of the hand away from the body, stressed when the arm moves also, medium, when the hand only is moved, and fairly weak, when only a finger moves. The reader should try to say "Look at that cute dish" and put a kinesic emphasizer anywhere else than on that. There are many other significant and highly interesting hand signals (note on what occasions, for example, a woman touches the back of her hair), and probably only Birdwhistell has catalogued them all for this culture. Research in other cultures has barely been suggested. Most of the kinesic signals we have been discussing are made unconsciously or out-of-awareness. No one is aware of having learned them or of any teacher. They are the result of early imprinting and informal learning. Some kinesic signals are very much in awareness, as the "speech" of deaf-mutes which is not normally a part of kinesic investigation. There are many elaborate finger signals used by some Mediterraneans for other members of the same sex, indicating the charms, wealth, intelligence and so forth of some third party. There are also the studied gestures of the stage and the orator which often spill over into everyday life. These latter can be of great interest to a kinesicist, largely because of what they conceal.

Hip and leg movements are also numerous and varied. We have different ways of sitting and send out non-verbal messages even by that. Women are conditioned to sit more erect in chairs than males, generally with the legs closer together, and many women are more comfortable in straight-backed chairs than in lounge chairs. The male tends to slouch more with his legs further apart. Here status and security are involved. A contrast may be noted between two males, one of whom is younger, a job applicant or a student, and the other older, an executive or professor. The former sits forward on the chir, leans slightly foreward, has the knees fairly close together with no leg cross. The latter leans back, sometimes with an arrogant display of belly, legs further apart ("security") or crossed. These kinesic roles cannot be switched or much modified, or the kinesic exchange--and the whole interview--will be in jeopardy. Male teen-agers at the younger end of the spectrum affect a very sprawling sitting posture, resting on the coccyx with the legs spread out. This is deliberate rebellion against a junior role in society and is generally abandoned when an individual becomes better acculturated. Leg-crosses vary with age, culture, sex and frame (immediate environment). Women in this culture wearing normal clothes have two options, crossing the legs at the ankles or at the knees. The former is considered to be the matronly leg-cross and is more common with women over thirty, particularly when they are being photographed. The knee cross, while still used by older women, is more common with the young. If a young woman is wearing short skirts (knee length or above) and sitting on an elevated seat such as a ship's railing this cross is called "cheese-cake." Men have the above two crossings as well as a third, the placing of the ankle of one leg on the knee of the other. While this is not done in formal situations with mixed company, such as a tea party, it is widely used by British and American males, but far less commonly elsewhere. One can hardly imagine DeGaulle, Nehru or Chairman Mao with this leg-cross. If one wishes to indulge in psychological interpretations, one might read "confidence." Other leg-crosses are possible. The Bengalis place the back of one knee directly on the other knee cap, which is difficult and uncomfortable for us.

The feet can also be moved and play a role in the kinesic modality of communication. Tapping of the foot and raising of the foot are well-known. Toe movements, of course, are difficult to detect, but can sometimes be observed in women when the shoe is half off the foot. Various kinds of walks have been partially discussed. There is the halting gait of the aged and infirm, the heavy, elephant-like placing of one foot after another by those still not used to the technique (children three to five), the dapper stride of English business men (similar to the Americans, but a little more brisk), the "cool", somewhat rhythmic walk of lower-class whites). This "cool" way of walking has been much imitated by white male adolescents in the nineteen-sixties, along with many Negro lexical items and some syntax. The wide lower class Negro pitch range in paralanguage, however, has not been borrowed. It is less cool than slurred speech.

For all of this a caveat must be issued. It would seem to be a fun parlor game to analyze your friends' unconscious kinesic communications, to upset your boss by telling him he crosses his legs like a woman, and so forth. The student should be a trained observer and employ a consistent and systematic notation. He should also have some knowledge of cultural anthropology and linguistics. From this latter study of the prime human means of communication it is assumed that the other modalities have emic units (a range of pieces of behavior that have one function and nondistinctive variations) such as kinemes, haptemes, and so forth. These studies are of immense value in the minute, detailed analyses of filmed psychiatric interviews (microanalysis), where non-verbal messages may run parallel to, or opposite, the verbal ones, enabling the psychiatrist, if he is trained in these techniques, to gain valuable insights into the patient's inner conflicts. Of particular interest here is the "double bind", where something signaled in one modality may be contradicted in another. We are all loosely aware of this and often have vague feelings that people don't mean what they say or are "insincere". We are all very familiar with the "very glad to meet you" with the indifferent handshake and the straying glance or the girl who says goodnight but does not move away. It is little wonder that a famous American linguist, E. H. Sturtevant, said that language was invented for lying. So the reader has been warned, but, it is assumed, the reader is human.

IV. Paralanguage

It is obvious that not all communication is vocal and that not all vocal communication is language. We have all heard such expressions as "Don't look at me in that tone of voice" or "Get the edge out of your voice." We all know about "talking up" and "talking down", especially in tightly structured situations such as the military but also in normal social intercourse. Adults use a different "tone of voice" when talking to children than they do when talking to each other and may use another when speaking to the minister or priest or a visiting notable. Some of these signals, to be sure, are linguistic, such as the suprasegmental #233 for "polite" or "talking up" questions or the use of sir and ma'am, but other vocal noises and affects are not. This residue we call paralanguage and define it as the signal system produced by the non-articulated vocal tract. Paralanguage may be the sole signal modality, as in such items usually written as "ha-ha", "hmm", "huh", "ah", "tsk-tsk", "sh" and so forth, or, more commonly, it may accompany language. Only the "dry as dust" speaker ignores paralanguage. We judge the dynamic and effective speaker by his use of kinesics and paralanguage as well as language. Billy Graham and Everett Dirksen are examples of this, Calvin Coolidge, of the opposite.

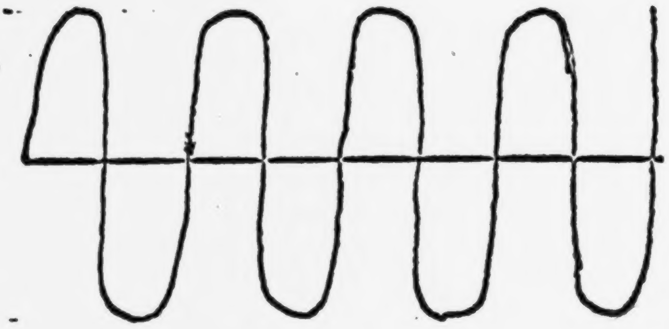
There are different paralanguages among sub-groups of Homo sapiens but the differentiations are not as marked as with language. Up to now (1969) there has been little comparative study in this new field but some distinctions are obvious, as one can ascertain by watching foreign films, for example. English and American paralanguage is not too different from that of Northern and Western Europe, differs somewhat from that of Italy and Greece, and differs considerably from that of India and Japan. Indians have a lip-rounding effect that is missing in the United States and the Japanese have the famous "hissing sound"--an imploded voiceless dental spirant--and, while their giggle is the same as ours, it is used under different circumstances, to indicate deprecation rather than amusement, which results in consistent misunderstanding by westerners. While comparative paralinguistic research is in its infancy, the descriptive study of American paralanguage is not (see Smith, 1954, 1957, Trager, 1958, Austin, 1965, in the syllabus). Emic, or functional, units can be isolated and their meanings, provided the total frame is understood, can be determined. These units are divided into three groups which are usually called, very arbitrarily, vocal qualifiers, vocal modifiers and vocal segregates.

Vocal Qualifiers

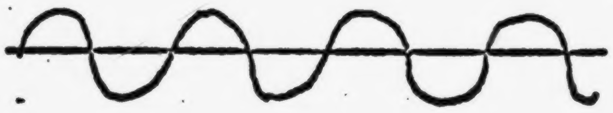
There are six of these, subdivided into three of degree and three of manner and further subdivided into variations of intensity (loudness), pitch, and tempo, as follows:

	Degree			Manner		
Intensity	overloud	^	^	smooth	∼	∼
	oversoft	∨	∨	jerky	≀≀	≀≀
Pitch	overhigh	↑	↑	sing-song	♪	♪
	overlow	↓	↓	flat	—	—
Tempo	overfast	>	>	drawled	◠	◠
	overslow	<	<	clipped	◡	◡

Loudness and softness are, acoustically, variations in the amplitude of sound waves, schematized as,



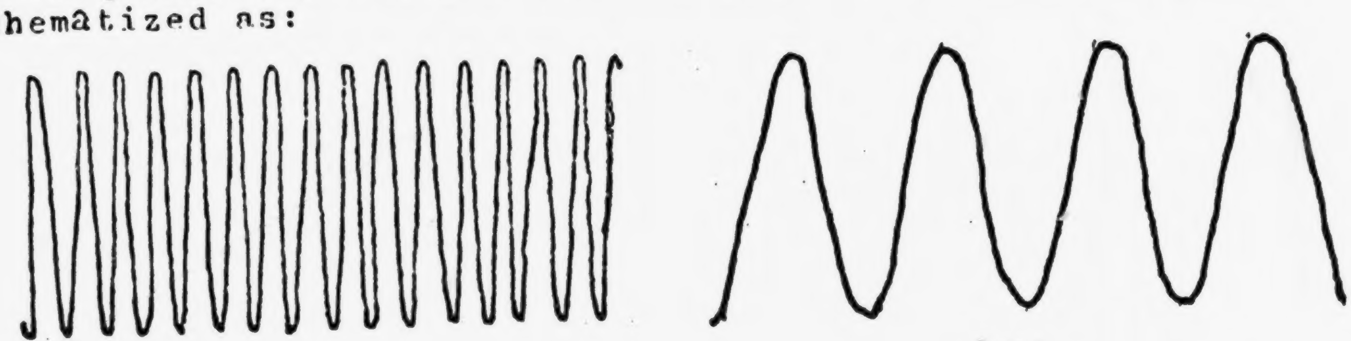
loud



soft

Overloudness is used under various circumstances and its "meaning" varies with these circumstances. It is used to combat distance and "channel interference" ("You know I can't hear you when the water's running") or for emphasis (ŝtop it̂) or as a threat (gêt out̂) or as an indication of insecurity (Î am not talking too loud̂). Americans sometimes, quite idiotically, use overloudness with persons who don't speak English well or who they consider stupid. Oversoftness may indicate resignation (y̌eš), strong emotion (ďear Goď), or menace (Ǐ hope I don't have to repeat thiš). The actor Peter Lorre used it to great effect in creating the sinister.

Variations in pitch represent, acoustically, changes in frequency (cycles per second, cps) of the sound waves, schematized as:



In cultures that strongly differentiate the sexes (Japan, the United States before World War I) women talk with a very high pitch and men, with a very low one. In America today women generally have a lower pitch but, biologically, it is about an octave higher than that of men. Women will use a higher pitch than normal to indicate innocence and femininity (↑You mean this is for ↑me?). Males, similarly, will use an overlow pitch to signal masculinity (↓Come on, ↓baby). Teen-age boys help create the projection of toughness with low pitch (↓O.K. you ↓guys). Upper class German males characteristically talk with a high pitch (↑Vot you ask, machor, iss utterly ↑imposiple). Baby talk is done with either excessively high or excessively low pitch, along with phonemic distortion (↑Is 'er Daddy's 'ittle ↑dirl?) or (↓Is 'er Daddy's 'ittle ↓dirl?). High pitch is occasionally employed by adult American males in a paralanguage dialect associated with New York and Hollywood (So ↑↑who's bugging you?). American Negro speech is characterized by intermittent use of high pitch (↑↑Man, you can't do nuttin' 'bout ↑↑dat).

Tempo variations are overly fast or overly slow. Overly fast talk can occur when telephone time is running out or when reading routine sections of legal documents or when one is trying to cover something up. Overly slow speech is characteristic of public speeches (I am here to introduce...) or other emotional situations. A continuous alternation of overly fast and overly slow speech has implications for the psychiatrist.

Turning to the qualifiers of manner we have smooth versus jerky. An overly smooth locution is often heard in radio and TV announcers and sometimes in very poised adults. Vincent Price's is an example of extremely smooth paralanguage and this creates the impression of the extremely sinister. We normally don't trust the too smooth, in paralanguage as in anything else. The opposite, jerkiness, is characteristic of emotional involvement, insecurity or inexperience. Teen-agers, even with deep voices, can often be detected over the telephone because of jerkiness in their speech (Can I speak to Jane, please?).

Sing-song versus flat are the manner variations of pitch. The sing-song effect in females is considered to be mildly flirtatious (Goodnight. Goodbye, now). The same paralanguage in males sounds insincere, unctuous or otherwise obnoxious. Sing-song is sometimes heard in the ritual repetition of well-memorized passages. Flatness is significant of total disinterest or hopelessness (Stand back, please. Are you feeling any better today?)

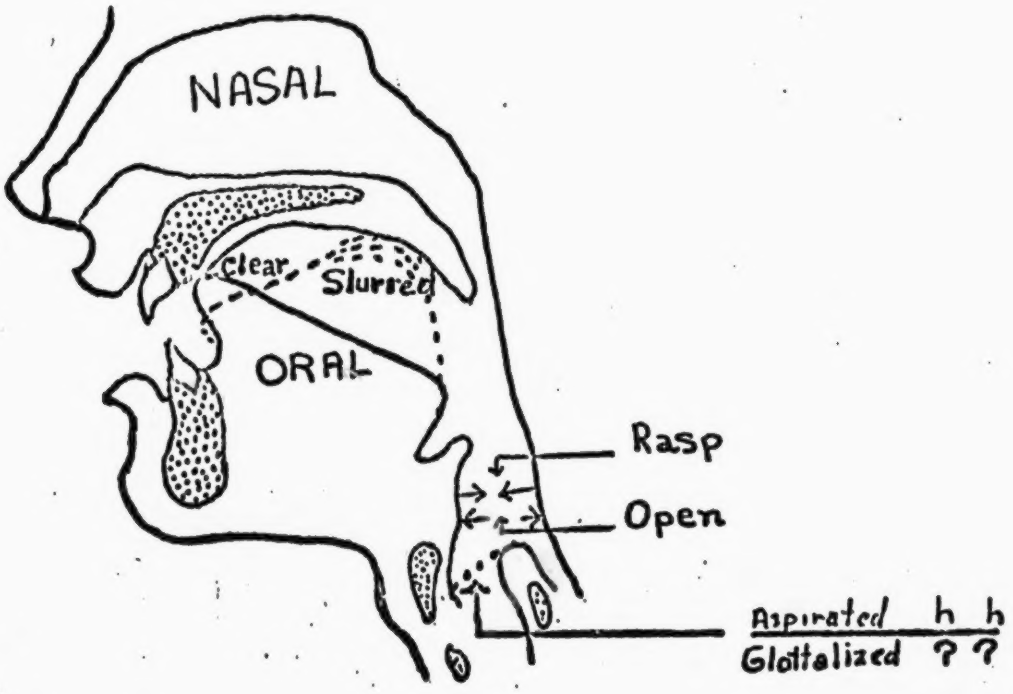
Drawl and clipping are the manner variations of tempo. The paralinguistic feature of drawl is to be distinguished from what is popularly called a "Southern drawl". Drawl can occur in a Southern dialect as well as in a Boston one. Drawl is often used for sarcasm or threat (Well look who's talking now. Now aren't you cute, though). Americans often use drawl or clipping with yes or no; with the former they are usually spelled yeah and no-o-oh (yes, no), with the latter, yep or yup and nope (yes, no). Some words, such as goodnight, goodbye and O.K., are often said with clipping ("Let's not dwell on this") and appear phonetically with preglottalized nasals and stops [ʔnait, ʔbai, ʔkei].

Vocal Modifiers

The vocal modifiers are modifications of articulated sounds in the vocal tract, the region between the nose and lips and the larynx. They may be outlines as follows:

Oral vs. Nasal	oral	or	or
	nasal	na	na
Lingual	clear	cl	cl
	slurred	sl	sl
Pharyngeal	open	o	o
	rasp	ϙ	ϙ
Laryngeal	breathiness	h	h
	glottalization	ʔ	ʔ

Nasal versus oral is the vocal modifier for the upper resonance chambers; clear versus slurred, that for the tongue or lingual position; openness versus rasp, that for the oral pharynx, and aspiration ("breathiness") versus glottalization, that for the larynx. As mentioned previously, a labial effect, rounding versus flattening, is possible, but in English it is probably a non-distinctive feature of baby-talk or endearment. The areas of these modifications are sketched in the following diagram:



Nasal versus oral modifications in general represent a lax muscular tonus as opposed to a tense one. Nasality is characteristic of teen-age boys, particularly those trying to appear tough ($\overset{na}{\text{O.K}}$ you $\overset{na}{\text{guys}}$) or of grown men trying for the same effect. The male also tends to be nasal in courtship and both sexes are nasal in various toxic states, that is, when drunk. The female tends to be more oral, from the little girl's ($\overset{or}{\text{You}}$ can borrow my roller $\overset{or}{\text{skates}}$) to a component, along with overhigh pitch, of the mature woman's "little girl's voice" ($\overset{\uparrow or}{\text{Oh}}$ no, I simply $\overset{\uparrow or}{\text{couldn't}}$). This paralinguistic presentation signals helplessness and innocence on the part of the female and is commonly heard, in the early phases at least, of courtship, complementing the male's "virile" nasality.

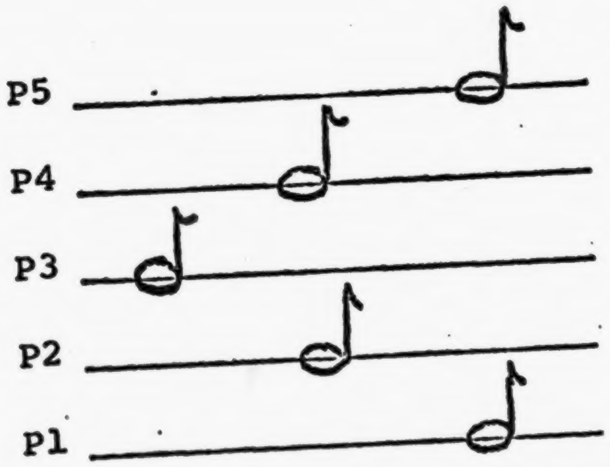
Clear versus slurred paralanguage is primarily a question of the placing of the tongue and its muscular tone. Clearness is exhibited by most radio and television announcers and newscasters (with some exceptions in sports area). Other people tend to be clear when mentally and physically alert, when "bright-eyed and bushy-tailed." Slurred speech is characterized by a looseness of the tongue with a looser approximation of its normal articulatory positions. It is sometimes a style, indicating "coolness", as practiced in early Marlon Brando movies and by many imitators. It also is indicative of fatigue and, of course, of narcotic and alcoholic states.

Openness versus rasp are effects produced in the oral pharynx, the area just back of and below the tongue. When this region is maximally enlarged, with lax muscles and tongue forward, we have openness. The speaker uses it to give the effect of superior, protective status. Parents employ it to soothe children ($\overset{o}{\text{There}}$, there, it doesn't hurt anymore, does $\overset{o}{\text{it}}$?), clergymen, to give the effect of benevolence--"unction"--($\overset{o}{\text{Dearly}}$ $\overset{o}{\text{beloved}}$.....). Undertakers may usurp this paralinguistic role when talking to the bereaved ones, in which case it becomes almost intolerable, or politicians may use it to assuage worried constituents. In some cases it gives the impression of oiliness, i.e. insincerity. The opposite, rasp, is produced by constricting the muscles of this region and indicates strong, almost unbearable emotion ($\overset{ϙ}{\text{No}}$, I just can't go $\overset{ϙ}{\text{on}}$.)

Aspiration versus glottalization are the final modifiers, occurring in the larynx or, more specifically, the vocal chords. Aspiration, or breathiness, is illustrated by Bing Crosby's speaking and singing voice or by NBC's Miss Monitor (^{h}In Atlanta, the temperature's seventy-five, partly cloudy^{h}). In general it suggests eagerness and this, naturally, could imply the erotic. It definitely does if this feature is combined with softness, low pitch and nasality in male or female (all of these are characteristic of the sexiness of Mae West's speech). Glottalization, on the other hand, indicates strain and tension. It is not too clear how this differs from clipping.

Vocal Segregates

The so-called vocal segregates are non-linguistic distinctions of pitch. There are five of these in English and we can label them P1, P2, etc., where P stands for paralanguage. These pitches vary from individual to individual and are relative to each other. Bearing this in mind, the reader may consider the following as a relative schema:



The middle tone, P3, is the holding tone ("Wait, I'm not finished."), often written as huh, uh, hmm and sometimes called the "hesitation vowel". It is actually not a vowel in the linguistic sense, but a paralinguistic, non-articulated noise. P3 P3, is manifested as two apical clicks (tsk-tsk) in an archaic paralanguage dialect associated with "little old ladies". Two quick P3's is a device to draw attention to something, often with disapproval or as a warning. P3 P4 is a signal of assent, with accompanying orality (uh-uh) or nasality (hm-hm). P3 P2, with the same modifiers, signals negation. P3 P5 constitutes a paralinguistic message to people we know fairly well ("I told you so", "I knew this would happen"). P3 P1 is used primarily with small children ("Too bad"). All except P3 must occur with other paralinguistic tones. The residue of paralinguistic tones are the 123 of sentence intonation. In fact, someone might raise the argument that the latter <u>are</u> paralinguistic.

And there are still other paralinguistic signals. Shouting, whispering, laughing, crying, chortling, sobbing, giggling screaming. The cough can also be a paralinguistic signal, as well as clearing the throat (<u>ahem</u>). One has reason to believe that fifty or sixty may be the upper limit. Without duality of patterning, a larger number would be difficult to handle and paralanguage has very little, if any, duality. If it did it would be as complex as language; in fact it would be language. We know it is not but it is an invaluable, and human, supplement to language, a channel in the constant stream of communication.

The following is a sample text with paralinguistic notations (the beginning of <u>Gallant Men</u>, with the permission of Senator Everett L. Dirksen):

```
           ↓   ↓                    <      <
     May I visit with you about the American adventure?
     <               <  ↓          ↓  >
     From the pilgrims, who came here nearly three and
                     >              ^  ^
one half centuries ago, until this very day, people
     ^        ^            ^         ^             ^  ^
have sacrificed, they have contributed, they have built
                    ^   ^     ^    ^ ↓vv↓           >
themselves into the fibre and being of America.  It is
   > ↑^  ^↑                 ↑  ↑↓v v↓        ᵕ  ᵕ
from them that we receive this land as a legacy.


     Down through the years
                     <  <
     There have been men,
     <            < ↓vv↓
     Brave, gallant men,
              ↓  ↓
     Who have died
                          ↓v v↓
     That others might be free.
```

<   <   ↑˅ ˅↑
And even now
               ↑˅ ˅↑
They do it still.
<   <   ˅ ˅
Brave, gallant men
                        ᵕ ᵕ
                     ↓˅ ˅↓
Know that someone must
               ↓   ↓
And so they will.

<   <
Gallant men
Have built us a nation,
                       ↓   ↓
Passed us a torch of flame.
                  < <
Let us hold it high
                     < <
And light up the sky
      <   <   <^ ^<
With praise of our gallant men.

<   <   ᵒ ᵒ
Tyrants must know
<^ ^<   ᵒ ᵒ
Now, just as then,
<^ ^<
They cannot stand
            ↑   ↑
Not as long
                  <   < ˅ ˅
As there are gallant men.

The effectiveness of this reading is at once apparent. Key words are generally slowed--pilgrims, tyrants, gallant. The strongest emotional content is on must in the second stanza, almost inaudible. In the final stanza know and then, with openness and drawl, contain the subtlest, and most threatening, of warnings.

ENGLISH PROBLEMS OF SPANISH SPEAKERS

by A. L. Davis

The Spanish-speaking child faces many problems in the learning of English. Besides the strictly linguistic difficulties, the child often lives in a different culture, which may little resemble that of the affluent middle-class. In some large cities and in large parts of the nation the child lives in a completely Spanish-speaking neighborhood; English is the language of the schools and of the outside world. This environment can have an adverse effect on motivation compared to the high motivation college students, foreign and immigrants, have to learn the language.

In this section we will discuss some of the linguistic difficulties to aid the teacher in understanding the most noticeable mistakes the Spanish-speaker makes when he is learning English.

The Sounds

The learner of a foreign language will at first hear the language through his own phonemic system, ignoring contrasts which he does not make and hearing contrasts where the target language has none.

We will first examine the Spanish sounds and contrast them with English.[1]

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[1] For a more complete account see Robert P. Stockwell and J. Donald Bowen, *The Sounds of English and Spanish*, (Chicago: 1965), Daniel N. Cárdenas, *Introducseón a una comparación fonológica del español y del inglés* (Washington: 1960). Also Harold V. King "Outline of Mexican Spanish Phonology" *Studies in Linguistics* X (1951), 51-62; Robert Lado "A Comparison of the Sound Systems of English and Spanish," *Hispania* XXXIX (1956), 26-29; George L. Trager "The Phonemes of Castilian Spanish," *Travaux du Cercle linguistique de Prague* VIII (1939), 217-222; Hans Wolff "Partial Comparison of the Sound Systems of English and Puerto Rican Spanish," *Language Learning* III (1950), 38-40 and "Phonemic Structure and the Teaching of Pronunciation," *Language Learning* VI (1956), 17-23.

Remarks here about American English have a Middlewestern bias. The presentation is simplified.

Spanish has only five vowel phonemes:

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e		o
Low		a	

The child must learn to discriminate vowels not distinguished in Spanish. The five Spanish vowels nearly cover the ranges of the English vowels, with the high and mid vowels often lowered in syllables ending in a consonant. No Spanish vowel is exactly equivalent to any English vowel, the closest match being /a/. /i,e,o,u/ are not diphthongized as English /iy, ey, uw, ow/.

The consonant system also has important differences from English.

The stop series /p,b,k,b,d,g/ in Spanish is not aspirated, t and d are made with tongue farther forward touching the upper teeth and all are made with a somewhat less vigorous articulation.

/b/ is a stop only in phrase initial position (or following juncture) or when following m. Otherwise it is a bilabial fricative [β] made with the lips slightly parted. In Spanish orthography both the letters b and v are used for this phoneme. Examples: vino [bino] 'wine,' bastante [bastante] 'enough,' Cuba [kuβa], hombre [ombre] 'man.'

/d/ and /g/ are also stops only in phrase initial (or following juncture), with stop [d] following [n] or [l] and stop [g] following [ŋ].

The fricative allophone of /d/ [đ] is similar to English đ but more weakly articulated. In final position it may be lost altogether and in intervocalic position as well. Examples: donde [donde] 'where,' crudo [kruđo] 'raw,' verdad [berđađ, berđa] 'true,' soldado [soldađo, soldao] 'soldier.'

The fricative allophone of /g/ is [ɣ] made with the tongue close to the velum. Examples: ganar [ganar] 'to win,' tengo [teŋgo] 'I have,' hago [aɣo] 'Ido,' salgo [salgo] 'I leave.' Before w it may be lost as in agua [aɣwa, awa] 'water.'

With the exception of /d/ which may be lost, none of the stops occurs in final position except in rare foreign words.

/f/ is a labio-dental fricative somewhat more lightly articulated than English /f/. It should be noted that the corresponding voiced sound of English /v/ is absent, the bilabial [β] being an allophone of /b/. (Surely, labio-dental articulation, but it is nevertheless, an allophone of Spanish /b/.)

[/θ/ is typical of Castilian Spanish (of Madrid). It enjoys great prestige among speech teachers. It has a voiced allophone an interdental đ. The sound is spelled c and z. In other dialects it is /s/]

/s/ is farther forward than English s. It has a voiced allophone [z] before voiced consonants. In some dialects (sub-standard?) it may be reduced to a weak [h] in preconsonantal and final positions. Examples: *cinco* [siŋko] 'five,' *mismo* [mizmo, mi^{h}mo] 'same,' *soldados* [soldađos, soldao^{h}], *estos* [estos, e^{h}to^{h}] 'these.'

/x/ is a voiceless velar fricative. Examples: *gente* [xente] 'people,' *jota* [xota] the letter 'j'. *rojo* [roxo] 'red,' *reloj* [relox] 'watch.' The orthographic h is not pronounced except sometimes before w *hueso* [weso, ɣweso] 'bone.'

/y/ is a palatal with or without friction (the latter like English y) or an affricate like ǰ, causing *yellow* and *Jello* to sound alike to some Spanish-speakers. The palatal l of Castilian, [λ], is [y] in other dialects. Examples: *llamo* [yamo] 'I call,' *hierba* [yerba] 'grass,' *voy* [boy] 'I go,' *oigo* [oygo] 'I hear,' *aire* [ayre] 'air.'

/č/, a voiceless affricate, is like English ch in *China*, *church* with a little less friction. Examples *chico* [čiko] 'little,' *muchacha* [mučača] 'girl.'

/m/ the voiced bilabial nasal is like English m. Examples: *mucho* [mučo] 'much,' *calma* [kalma] 'calm.'

/n/ varies from labio-dental to velar depending upon its environment. It does not appear before p and b (becoming /m/); it is labio-dental before f, dental or alveolar before vowels and finally (depending upon dialect; some dialects have ŋ finally), velar [ŋ] before k,g,x. Examples: *enfermo* [eɱfermo] 'ill,' *donde* [don̪de] 'where,' *ron* [ron, roŋ] 'rum,' *cinco* [siŋko], *en casa* [eŋkasa] 'at home,' *tengo* [teŋgo], *monja* [moŋxa] 'nun.'

/ñ/ is a palatal nasal occuring between vowels (very rarely initially). Example mañana [mañana] 'tomorrow.' In some dialects it may be a combination of /n/ and /y/.

/r/ and /rr/ are almost in complementary distribution. Initially only /rr/ occurs with r in final position. They contrast in intervocalic position. /r/ may be a fricative in final position or at the end of a syllable. Examples: rojo [rroxo] 'red,' pero [pero] 'but,' perro [perro] 'dog,' cantar [kantar] 'to sing.' /r/ is an alveolar flap or fricative and /rr/ an alveolar trill.

/l/ the lateral is dental before a dental consonant, otherwise alveolar. It is more 'clear' in final position than is English l. Examples: largo [largo] 'long,' tal [tal] 'how,' alto [al̪to] 'high.'

/w/ is a rounded consonantal counterpart of /u/ and in this resembles /y/. It is written u,o. Oaxaca [waxaka], bueno [bweno] 'good,' bacalao [bakalao̭] 'codfish,' aula [awla] 'classroom.'

The distribution of these phonemes may be summarized.

Stops: non-final except for /d/ which is fricative. The voiced stops are fricatives in intervocalic positions. Not aspirated as in English.

Fricatives: /f/ non-final.

Affricate: /č/ non-final.

Nasals: /m/ non-final. /n/ has allophone [ŋ] in some dialects in final position.

/r/ and /rr/ - rr initial, r final either intervocalically.

Consonant clusters: initial stop + l or r: plato, 'dish,' primo 'first,' blanco 'white,' broma 'jest,' tratar 'to try,' drama 'drama,' (no tl- or dl-) clima 'climate,' crema 'cream,' gloria 'glory.' fl- flor 'flower,' fr- freno 'brake.' Clusters with w include puente 'bridge,' bueno, tuerto 'one-eyed,' duende 'ghost,' cuatro 'four,' guante 'glove,' fuente 'fountain,' suerte 'luck,' luego 'afterwards,' muerte 'death,' nueve 'mine,' ruido 'noise.' Clusters with y include pierna 'leg,' bien 'well,' tienda 'shop,' diente 'tooth,' quien [kyeŋ] 'who,' fiesta, siete 'seven,' miedo 'fear,' nieve 'snow,' riesgo 'risk.'

No final clusters are possible in Spanish and the only consonants which occur are (d), s, l, n, r and x.

Medially the 'initial clusters' occur; and p,t,k,b,d, g,m,n,l,r,s, plus another consonant. Three consonant groups include p,k,b,g,m,n,l,r,s plus the initial clusters; voiced consonant plus s plus consonant. Four consonant groups include b,d,n,r plus s plus the initial clusters.[2]

In comparison with English then, all vowels will give some difficulty, especially the /iy:i, uw:u, ey:e, ow:o/ contrasts; /æ/ which will be heard as /e/ or /a/ (usually a) and /ɔ/ which will also be /a/ (sometimes /o/). In weak stressed syllables where English has reduction to /ɨ/ and /ə/ for most vowels, Spanish retains the pronunciation of the loud stress (this gives trouble to English speakers learning Spanish). Final consonants non-occuring in Spanish will be omitted, followed by an -/e/, or a permitted final will be substituted: *top* [ta], *cake* [keke] *home-run* [xoŋroŋ]. Initial clusters frequently have an /e/- preceding: *sport* [espor]. Final clusters are formidable: *bounced* /bawntst/ becomes [bawnse(d)] etc.

For teaching these sounds and combinations the instructor must be prepared to demonstrate the placement of vocal organs and to drill until the physical tricks of the new sounds are mastered. Some of the cluster problems can be helped by making use of the permitted medial consonant combinations. It should be kept in mind that mere physical drill will not suffice--the new phonemic system must become internalized.

The speech rhythm of Spanish differs from English in many ways. One is the tempo. Spanish syllables in phrases are more even in length, whereas English speeds up and slows down within a phrase. The result is that Spanish may sound more staccato. Within English phrases plus junctures tend to break up the phrase. In Spanish the phrase may seem to be pronounced as "one word." Repetition drills with lengthening of phrases is helpful. "I'm a student--I'm a good student--I'm a very good student" etc.

Syllable division in Spanish follows the permitted sequences. An intervocalic consonant goes with the following vowel, and an 'initial cluster' in medial position with a following vowel *ca-sa*, *Pe-dro*.

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[2] Cárdenas, p. 26.

Spanish intonation and stress varies from dialect to dialect as does English. Some linguists set up three stresses and three pitches for Spanish, and three terminal junctures (rising, falling, sustained). Intonations are /121 (1211)/ with fall common for statements, /1231/ with fall in yes-no questions; and some kind of emphases. /122/ with rise with yes-no questions, and /11/ with fall in vocatives; they contrast with English /231/ with fall on statements and questions beginning with question words, /211/ with fall showing annoyance or lack of interest, /241/ with fall emphatic.[3]

King and Bowen set up two stresses: strong and weak. According to King if two strong stresses in a phrase occur the second is loudest, if more than two then the first and last are primary; tertiary and weak are allophones of weak stress.

Although the rhythm features are hardest to describe they are of greatest importance for understanding. Even if the segmentals are not pronounced accurately understanding is better than if segmentals are accurate while the suprasegmentals are not.

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[3] J. Donald Bowen "A Comparison of the Intonation Patterns of English and Spanish," Hispania XXXIX (1956), 30-35.

Grammar

English makes use of four primary devices to signal grammatical meanings, that is, to mark such meanings as subject-verb-object, what is modifier or modified, singular-plural, tense and mood, whether a statement, question, or command is being uttered. The order of words in a phrase or sentence, the use of special endings or word forms, the use of function words such as prepositions and conjunctions, and supra-segmental stress, juncture and intonation are these devices.

Word order, so obvious to the native speaker of English that it is often omitted from elementary treatments of grammar, is so important in grammatical signalling that the hearer will often interpret it as the over-riding device. A sentence such as "him doesn't see I," probably never said by a native speaker, would ordinarily be recast by the hearer as "he doesn't see me," in spite of three morphological markers: the cases of the pronouns and the verb form.[4]

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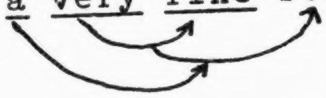
[4] Morphology means the structure of words and in English this is applied to inflectional endings: (cat-cat's-cats) (walk-walks-walked-walking) (tall-taller-tallest), derivational affixes which may be before or after the base: *able* *un-able*, *quick* *quick-ly*; in some languages infixes are used but they are very rare in English, such as the Australian *inde*-*bloody*-*pendent*. An English variation is vowel change as in *gold* *gild*, or vowel change with suffix *strong* *strength*. Inflections like *man* *men*, *run* *ran*, *child* *children* are special forms of affixation. The order of affixation is usually determined: *nature* *natural* *unnatural* *unnaturally* (or *naturally* *unnaturally*). Inflections are nearly always last, "they close the construction": *accelerate* *accelerator* *accelerators*, but *son*-*in*-*law* *sons*-*in*-*law* (at least in books!). The word components are called morphemes, which are minimum meaning units: *un*-*child*-*like*, *cat*-*s*.

Compounds are made of two independent units (morphemes or combinations) which in English have stress features setting them off from mere sequences: *sandal*, *wood*: sándal^{+}woòd, *ice*, *cream*: íce^{+}creàm, ìce^{+}créam. A new commercial product is called Lémon^{+}wàx. In some dialects the secondary accent is used: bárn^{+}yàrd or bárn^{+}yârd.

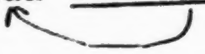
The special endings and word forms set off morphological classes. Nouns have special plural or possessive endings: *boy* -*'s* -*s*, *man* *men* *men's*. Verbs have third person singular, present, past, and participial endings: *walk* *walks* *walked* *walking*, *ring* *rings* *rang* *rung* *ringing*. Adjective-adverbs have comparison: *small* *smaller* *smallest*; *fast* *faster* *fastest*. Pronouns form a special class, some having accusative (or objective) case forms: *he* *his* *him*, *they* *their* *them*, *who* *whose* *whom*. Words which have *no* inflection belong to an uninflected class. *Deer* has no plural form, or is undifferentiated from the singular. Because nearly all other count-nouns have a plural inflection: *pen* *pens*, linguists set up a *zero* plural for *deer*, since it has the possessive suffix *deer's*. *People* on the other hand has no singular--except with meaning change--but has a possessive. Some mass nouns are seldom used in the plural or possessive, the plural showing meaning change as in *natural* *sugars*. The same applies to some abstract nouns e.g. *readiness* (possibly plural in Educationalese). Although the latter enters into the compound, réading+rèadiness, it would be only classed as a *morphological* *noun* on this basis and on its derivational suffix. Words which cannot fit *morphologically* are classed with the uninflecteds.

Words may also be classed *syntactically* that is, on the basis of their position and function in phrases. The common statement patterns are subject-verb-(indirect object)-(object) (adverbial/time, place, manner/): "They gave him their contribution yesterday at the office reluctantly." with some variation in the adverbial sequences. The above seems to the writer most "normal" when all three are used when there is no intonation break. Words which fit into the patterns are classified together: *Gladys*, *they* gave *Mrs. Smith*, *her*, *him*, their *contributions*, *checks*, *money*, at *the* *office*, at *work*, *yesterday*, *last* *pay-day*, very *reluctantly*, *with* *regret*. The substitutions with similar meanings can be multiplied. The words fitting into the subject, indirect object, direct object slots are *nominals*. Those which would fit into the verb slots are *syntactic verbs* (or verbals—this is not used here because of the traditional use of verbal for participial, infinitive, and gerund forms). *At* *the* *office*, *at* *work*, *yesterday*, *last* *night*, *reluctantly*, *with* *regret* are adverbials. *Their* and *last* are *adjectivals* (substitute *meager*, and *next*, with tense change). Words like *at* (*in*,*on*,*by* etc.) are *preposition(al)s* which combine with nominals to form adjectivals and adverbials: The man *in the store*, the house *by the river*, *in the morning* etc. Notice that the noun 'yesterday,' is adverbial. *Conjunction(al)s* may be illustrated by "the man *and* woman," "He wrote or said," "He came when she called" "As tall as he is etc." The, a, an, are determiners and very is an intensifier. It in "it's going to rain," there in "there is much wealth," one in "two red ones" are fillers. They complete the pattern but seem to have no other function. The modals (can, may, shall, will, should, could, would, must, might, ought) are used with infinitive forms--except for ought not marked by to--and have no distinctive third person singular present. Could, should would are related to can, shall, will in some uses. The forms of be, have and used with to and infinitive, be, get and keep with the present participle e.g. "is going," "got going," "kept going," be and get passives "was hit," "got hit," have with past participle, "has gone," etc. To with the infinitive form is a special prepositional use. All of these C. C. Fries Calls function words.[5] In English simple modifiers of nominals generally precede the word modified:

"He is a very fine student," with complex modifiers



"The man in the park" following.



The suprasegmentals are used as grammatical signals in differentiating questions from statements when no other signal is present:'Jòhn cómin̆g' with /2-3-3 ‖/ = ? ,

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[5] American English Grammar (New York: 1940). See also his The Structure of English (New York: 1952).

For more extensive treatments of English see W. Nelson Francis, The Structure of American English (New York: 1958), Archibald A. Hill, Introduction to Linguistic Structures: From Sound to Sentence in English (New York: 1958), George L. Trager and Henry Lee Smith, Jr., An Outline of English Structure (Washington: 1951), H.A. Gleason, Jr., An Introduction to Descriptive Linguistics, Robert B. Lees, The Grammar of English Nominalizations (Bloomington, 1960). Of great value for the comparison of English and Spanish is Robert P. Stockwell, J. Donald Bowen, and John W. Martin, The Grammatical Structures of English and Spanish, As is also Robert L. Politzer and Charles N. Staubach, Teaching Spanish (New York: 1965).

Jòhn cómin̆g /2-3-1 #/ = .,to indicate utterance continuance--a signal that the hearer should not break in-where single-bar /|/ or /||/ may be used instead of /#/, and for indicating compounds e.g. súgar^{+}bòwl. They also indicate brusqueness--politeness and other meanings carried in the paralanguage.

Spanish uses the same kinds of grammatical devices as English--word order, inflections, function words and suprasegmentals. Unfortunately, for the learner, they do not completely match.

The inflections of Spanish occur on the noun, pronoun, verb, and adjective. The noun is marked by singular and plural endings and it has grammatical gender. Males are masculine, females are feminine but all nouns are either masculine or feminine: señor - señores, señora - señoras 'sir - sirs,' 'lady'-'ladies' padre - padres, madre - madres 'father - fathers,' 'mother - mothers,' muchacho - muchachos, muchacha - muchachas 'boy - boys' 'girl - girls,' vez - vezes 'time - times,' 'sombrero - sombreros 'hat - hats,' pluma-plumas 'pen - pens.' The plural ending is -s, or -es /-s, -es/. Some of the list are marked as masculine by -o or feminine by -a. There is no logical reason for hat being masculine while time and pen are feminine, except that it is part of the history of the language. There is no possessive suffix, Spanish using the function word de (of).

The adjective is also masculine or feminine, singular or plural to agree with the noun it modifies: el hombre malo 'the bad man,' los hombres malos 'the sick men,' la calle nueva, las calles nuevas 'the new street, the new streets.' Some adjectives grande 'big,' azul 'blue' have no gender marked, merely adding the plural marker for agreement. Note that the gender is not inherent for adjectives but is merely a matter of the noun modified. The adjective as we see follows the noun in the above examples. It may precede: un buen hombre 'a good man.' Adjectives in series follow the noun. Una señora feliz y gorda 'a happy fat woman.' The determiner el-la-los-las 'the,' un-una 'a, an' (unos-unos 'some') is also an adjective agreeing in gender and number with the noun.

The pronoun has the forms:

yo - I
tu - you (familiar singular) - usted, formal
él - he
ella - she
nosotros - we nosotras, feminine

nosotros - we *nosotras*, feminine
ustedes - you, formal but general
ellos - they, masculine *ellas*, feminine
me - me
te - you
lo le - him
la - her
used with second singular formal also
nos - us
los - them, masculine
las - them, feminine
used with the second person plural also
mí (used with preposition)
tí (used with preposition)
le (indirect object him or her)
les (indirect object them)
se (reflexive third person) me, te, nos are reflexive also.

There is a neuter form used *esto* 'this,' *eso* 'that' *aquello* 'that' but it is not used in modifying position. The other demonstratives have -e,-a, zero,-os,-as, endings.

Additional forms are possessive adjectives *mi*, *mío*, *mía*; *mis*, *míos*, *mías* 'my, mine;' *tu* *tuyo* *tuya* *tus* *tuyos* *tuyas* 'your' (singular familiar antecedents); *su*, *suyo*, *suya*, *sus*, *suyos*, *suyas* (third person singular and plural and second person formal antecedents) *nuestro*, -*a*, -*os*, -*as* 'our, ours.'

The verb forms are quite complex and cannot be included here. The verb is inflected for person and number, has present, imperfect, preterit (past), and future tenses, indicative, subjunctive, and conditional moods, infinitive, present and past participle forms. In addition many of the verbs are irregular. The reader may wish to consult a Spanish grammar for these forms.

For the learner of English the pitfalls are that the Spanish system is more extensive and he must learn how to match up the forms. Other devices must be mastered, as for example the use of auxiliary verb forms which parallel his own forms. Juan *hablaba*, John was talking; Juan *hablará*, John will talk. These parallels will not be exact--he must learn the new system as a system.

Spanish word order is similar to English but the subject may be omitted, if clearly understood "*Juan tiené carro*. *Es rico*. 'John has a car. He's rich.'" *No es nada* 'It's nothing.' (double negative normal for Spanish). The adjective following its noun has been illustrated.

The kinds of grammatical errors produced by learners are often caused by contrasts in the language structures.

The following partial list is adapted from *Teaching English to Puerto Rican Pupils in Grades 1 and 2* published by the New York City Board of Education (1956, 1963). Older students make the same errors.

1. Omission of pronoun subject:
   Is big. Is teacher. (Article omitted also)
2. Not before verb:
   María not is here. (Also María no is here, Maria no here.)
3. Adjective following noun:
   The dress yellow; the dresses yellows with agreement in number (final /s/).
4. The comparative forms used with *more*, *most* where English uses *-er*, *-est*:
   It is more big. He is most fat of the boys.
5.
   a. Dropping of -s inflection on third person singular verbs:
      He go to school
   b. Dropping of -s inflection on plurals:
      The book are here.
   c. Dropping of past tense inflection:
      The boy play.
   d. Omission of *will* in future tense:
      The boy play.

   In 4--Spanish uses *más* (more), *el más*, *la más*, *los más*, *las más* (most). In 5 the Spanish inflections differ so much in form from English that omission takes place. Some of the English forms require unusual consonant clusters also. Besides, most language learners find out that they can simplify the verb forms using time words to get their meanings across: *I go yesterday*, etc.
6. Use of *go* with *to* for future:
   He go to sing = He's going to sing
7. Use of *no* for *don't* in commands:
   no run (not run).
8. Use of simple present where English uses progressive:
   He sleep now.
9. Omission of article with nationality, profession, etc:
   Is American. Is teacher.
10. Use of *the* for possessive in parts of the body, and personal articles:
    The foot hurts me.
    The coat (of him) is blue.
11. Titles used with definite article:
    The Mr. Jones.
12. *In* used for *on at*:
    In the table, in Michigan Avenue, in 1515 Michigan Avenue. Prepositions in English are extraordinarily

difficult, in fact, prepositional usage in any new language will present extraordinary difficulties!

13. Use of have for be:
    I have hunger. He have six years = He's six years old.
14. Avoidance of inversion in questions:
    Juan can go? Juan like(s) this? (Spanish does not use the do function word-verb form) Also,
    How come they to school? (or How they come to school?)
15. Noun-compounding not used or order in error:
    The wife-house, the wife of the house.

In vocabulary there is no complete match from language to language. We see this even in the same language as British vest is American undershirt. Words must be learned in all their semantic ranges, their degrees of formality, their related forms. A Spanish-English speaker may say "God" as he says Diós in Spanish but the Spanish meaning as an interjection is far milder; 'bye-bye' is used with children or familiarly, fish is pez in Spanish when alive but pescado is fish on the table. Vocabulary is only partly learned by vocabulary list translations. We learn the vocabulary of the language through situational contexts including the culture.

Idioms are usually defined as combinations of words peculiar to a language. In English houses burn down but small things burn up. Idiom study manuals, often lists of verb-adverb combinations, are understandably popular with foreign learners.

Complete mastery of the pronunciation, grammar, vocabulary and styles are impossible for the native learner. What the learner of a foreign language should aim for is mastery at the social competence level which he will fit into. The true bilingual is exceedingly rare, as is the person equally at home in two cultures.

In the past, schools have failed to understand the size of the problem because children 'pick up the language so easily.' While children apparently learn new language habits more readily than adults, the age difference is not so important as it might seem, provided the language training is of top quality. What often happens is that part of the language is learned: the learner's language may be relegated to family use, or the new language used only in relationships with English speakers.

It seems hardly likely that the schools will overestimate the problem by committing the resources necessary in time and funds. There may be a danger that some school systems will use the size of the problem as an excuse not to provide the proper language training.

SOME NOTES ON ACADIAN ENGLISH

Raven I. McDavid, Jr.

It is impossible in a report of this kind to describe all of the local language situations that create peculiar problems for the schools. The sketch of the Acadian situation suggests how one may approach the problems of Navahos, Massachusetts Portuuese, or Wisconsin Germans.

The Acadian French population of Southwestern Louisiana may be considered a halfway house between the ordinary non-standard dialect situation and that of a foreign language group.

The original Acadians were part of the French community in Nova Scotia. After their colony was ceded to Great Britain at the end of the War of Spanish Succession, the community was dispersed under orders of the British governor--ostensibly for fear of disloyalty, practically because the New Englanders coveted the rich farmlands which the French settlers had developed. The largest group of the Acadians went to Louisiana, still under French control at the time. But since the rich farmlands along the Mississippi, Atchafalaya and Red rivers had already been staked out by the plantation class, the new arrivals were sent to the outlying swamp lands where they developed a Poor White economy of subsistence farming, fishing and trapping.[1] They remained largely isolated from the rest of Louisiana till the rise of Huey Long, who for the first time provided roads, bridges, schools and hospitals--and an incentive to vote. Even today many of them are relatively untouched by recent technology.

Among the Acadians there is every stage in the command of English from monolingualism in French to monolingualism in the regional standard English.[2] In general there is a correlation between mastery of English, degree of education, and socio-economic status, but exceptions are numerous. Bilingualism of various degrees may occur at any social level; as one might expect, the upper working class and lower middle class are most sensitive about their French background, though this sensitivity may take various forms.

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[1] In the Acadian country proper there are almost no Negroes, in contrast with the old plantation areas where Negroes are sometimes more numerous than whites. In such nearby cities as Lafayette, Lake Charles, Alexandria and Baton Rouge there is, as one would expect, a large Negro population. For many Louisiana Negroes French is their native language; their dialects have been described by several excellent linguists, notably George Lane and Raleigh Morgan.

[2] The number of speakers of Acadian French is hard to estimate; no information on languages was obtained in the census for 1940 or 1950, and in 1960 only "the mother tongue of the foreign born," which credited Louisiana with some 1200 speakers of French. In 1940-42, of the Students at Southwestern Louisiana Institute in Lafayette (now the University of Southwestern Louisiana) at least two-thirds spoke French at home; the French-speaking population of Southwestern Louisiana was estimated at about 250,000. Despite the high

Illiteracy has been very high among the Acadians--in some parishes (counties) over 35% in 1940. Education is almost entirely in English; however, the pressure of enrollment and the philosophy of social promotion have meant that even a high-school diploma does not necessarily indicate a functioning command of standard English.

In the absence of a systematic contrastive study of Acadian French and local standard English,[3] a few observations will suggest problems that may be encountered in the region.

Patterns of intonation, stress and rhythm differ from those of American English. Statements often end with a high pitch, weak-stressed English syllables, especially medial ones, are often lost.

The spirants /θ/ and /ð/, as in think and then, do not occur ; they are usually replaced by /t/ and /d/, less often by /s/ and /z/.

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birthrate, cultural attrition since then has reduced the number of speakers of French; nevertheless, in suprasegmentals, phonology, inflections and syntax the spoken English of monolinguals today often resembles that of native speakers of French.

[3] One variety of local standard English resembles that of southeast Texas. Historic postvocalic /-r/ becomes /ə/ or length; before its reflexes the contrast between /a/ and /ɔ/ is lost, so that card and cord are homonyms, and with /ɔ/ characteristically a long vowel, there is no distinction between Arthur and author. Likewise the contrast between /I/ and /ɛ/ is lost before nasals, so that pin and pen are homonyms.

Intervocalically or between a vowel and a non-nasal consonant, the nasals /m, n, ŋ/ appear as nasality of the preceding vowel.[4]

Final consonant clusters are usually simplified, as /wen/ for went.[5]

As in French, there is no systematic contrast between /i/ and /I/, between /u/ and /U/; there is no /ʌ/ phoneme.

Inflectional suffixes for nouns and verbs do not occur. Thus in Acadian English, regular nouns do not distinguish the genitive or the plural; verbs do not distinguish the third singular present indicative, the preterite or the past participle.

The copula appears only under heavy stress; cf. the punch line of a favorite story: "He so dronk he tink he me" ("He's so drunk he thinks he's me").

As one would expect, there are many peculiarities of the vocabulary. Some are simply French words taken over bodily; some designate such local phenomena as flora, fauna, cuisine and general culture; some are probably loan translations, as make a pass for "call by for."

For the theoretical linguist it is interesting to speculate whether Acadian English represents a general tending of creolizing; here, systematic descriptions and comparisons are necessary. For the classroom teacher, it should be apparent that standard English cannot be taught in southwestern Louisiana by the techniques used in monolingual communities in upstate New York, and that techniques of second-language instruction must be incorporated into the program.

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[4] Thus they are often not represented in writing.

[5] This is attested in writing by such hyper-forms as becaused, enought, blissed (bliss).

NOTE: Unlike standard Parisian, Acadian French retains the affricates /č/ and /ǰ/.

LANGUAGE LEARNING AND TEACHING

by A. L. Davis

When a child learns his native language he begins by learning to discriminate verbal auditory signals and to imitate them. As he progresses he makes finer and finer discriminations, he masters the phonemic, grammatical, semantic and non-verbal communication systems. He learns that language is a tool for analysis and synthesis. Simultaneously he learns his culture and his role in it.

The rate at which he acquires this knowledge seems miraculous. The miracle happens because of intricate organization of the human brain, and man's most remarkable invention, human language.[1]

This speed of learning does not depend upon the structure of the specific language. Chinese, Turkish, Eskimo, Lithuanian, English--all have quite different structures, yet the child learns any of them with equal facility.

While it is true that languages can differ in degree of sophistication, for example a literary tradition introduces literary conventions, so that language learning in the broadest sense continues through adulthood, a language (or dialect) is equal to the demands put upon it.[2]

Some languages have not yet developed a scientific vocabulary, and rely upon a sencond language as English or French, which occupy the position held by Latin in European medieval society.

Realization of the nature of language learning and what has to be learned is the basis of good language programs either for native speakers or for those who are learning other languages. Ideal programs would combine the best of linguistic and cultural analysis, materials would be organized to follow what is known about language learning, and the classroom teachers, bolstered by the most appropriate teaching-aids would form with the students the ultimate partners in the teaching-learning process. Such programs can only be approximated.

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[1] For the development of child language see Ruth Hirsh Weir, Language in the Crib, The Hague, 1962.

[2] Early observers of non-literate societies often made the mistake of assuming that their cultures and languages were child-like. Some observers of the sub-cultures of complex present-day societies make a similar mistake. In either case the error arises from a failure to understand the culture or sub-culture.

Compromises must be made even when there are no outside complications of class size or heterogeneous backgrounds. The order of presentation cannot be that which might be dictated purely by linguistic considerations. One would first learn the pronunciation thoroughly, then the grammatical system and then the use of the language. Machines could be programmed in this way but human beings won't stand for it. The learner needs the satisfaction of being able to say something meaningful from the beginning. This means that all parts of the phonemic system cannot be concentrated upon at the same time. Difficult features must be introduced with care or frustration will result. A comparison of Spanish and English shows that the Spanish-speaker learning English will have two consonant problems in the use (of): juice contrasts, with the initial y-j, and the final z-s (the uw-u contrast is not illustrated in this pair). A drill might first concentrate upon the initial sounds: yellow-Jello, Yale-jail, use(n.)-juice, etc., followed by contrast drill of final z-s: bays-base, raise-race, prize-price, etc. In the grammatical structures we introduce those items of different structure from English with equal care, where English requires the adjective to precede its noun, for example. And we are aware of vocabulary items which cause interference (actualmente means "at the present time" not "actually," embarazada means "pregnant").

Once the sequence of materials has been determined, lessons are planned so that the items are practiced over and over until the students have acquired automatic control of them. The devices to accomplish this are many and the skillful teacher taxes all his ingenuity to accomplish this control without monotony. A pronunciation item may be introduced with the teacher demonstrating how it is made. It is practiced in words, in phrases, in short sentences, with the teacher acting constantly as a model. The students listen and repeat as a whole class, by half-class, by rows, by groups of four, by pairs, and individually in all possible combinations. The pace is lively at all times, teachers often use hand signals like choir-masters to avoid having to call on groups or individuals by voice, the drill maximizes student practice and immediate correction. The experienced teacher also knows that one "mastery" of a drill will not suffice, that review must be constant.

Dialogues are frequently found in language materials. They allow language practice in natural situations. Obviously they must be written with great care. One textbook author has remarked that a good dialogue is as hard to write as a good sonnet. There is much truth in this. The pronunciation, grammar and vocabulary must be controlled, that is, related to what has already been taught and to the rest of the lesson, the exchanges must be very short in the beginning lessons, gradually lengthening as fluency increases, and if it is to be memorized it must be of reasonable length, eight to twelve lines being optional. The content of the dialogue must be typical of a situation that is useful to the student and culturally suitable as well. This may mean that vocabulary items or a structure may be included which will not yet have been taught, but this is unavoidable, at times.

For a dialogue presentation the teacher may give the complete dialogue while the students listen, and make sure that all the meanings are clear. Then it is drilled phrase by phrase most often with the final phrases taken first to preserve intonation patterns, and to provide fluency practice. Students listen and repeat in groups, sub-groups etc., the teacher constantly presenting the model and correcting. Drill continues until students can take the roles through the entire dialogue without hesitation. At the end of such intensive practice many students will already have the dialogue memorized.

The grammar of a lesson builds upon what has already been taught and introduces each new item separately, always with awareness of the learner's language. A lesson which introduces the have possessive must stick to this, not including the have auxiliary; the lesson planner or writer must also bear in mind that "I have a headache, a new coat, good health" may be quite different expressions for the learner: "My head hurts me, I have a new coat, I am healthy."

Vocabulary control is essential. Word frequency lists are valuable but must be employed with discretion. In a running count of English, "notebook" is rather rare, but is frequent in the vocabulary the student needs. The vocabulary burden must be kept down or language learning is reduced to a dictionary search and the language structure to be mastered becomes secondary. In readings some words may be included for recognition only. They should occur infrequently and glossed with a definition or paraphrase.

A partial lesson is given here in order to illustrate some of these points.

I. Pronunciation practice:

The vowels /iy/ and /i/;

beep	beat	beak	*beeb	*beeg
bip	bit	Bic	bib	big
beef	Mies	fees	team	peel
biff	miss	fizz	Tim	pill

Note: Only monosyllables are used here, and each pair differs in the iy/i contrast only. Two forms are starred indicating that they are non-existent in the language; however, they are possible, compare league, Hebe (avoided because derogatory). The contrast does not occur before -r, -ng, -ge or at the ends of words. All forms might have been written in a phonetic/phonemic transcription.

Sentences:

It's a peel
It's a pill
It's beef

It's the team
It's Tim
It's big

etc. . .

Note: Putting the item in a short sentence is to provide practice in using the item with a statement intonation contour.

II. Dialog "A Visit"

Mr. Hill -- Good evening, Mr. Sanchez.
Mr. Sanchez -- Good evening, Mr. Hill.
Mr. Hill -- Please come in.
Mr. Sanchez -- Thank you, Mr. Hill.
Mr. Hill -- Please sit down.
Mr. Sanchez -- Thanks. Is Miss Hill here?
Mr. Hill -- No, my sister's at the movies.
Mr. Sanchez -- Please give her this book.
Mr. Hill -- Yes, I will.
Mr. Sanchez -- I have to leave now, Mr. Hill.
Mr. Hill -- Goodbye, Mr. Sanchez. Please come again.
Mr. Sanchez -- Thank you, Mr. Hill. Goodbye.

The dialog is no model of prose style, but the exchanges are natural and useful enough. It incorporates the pronunciation item being taught as well as the grammar, uses previously learned expressions and vocabulary.

III. Grammar

1. The polite request form:

Please stay
Please leave
Please come in
Please sit down
Please speak slowly
Please walk slowly
Please open the window
Please close the window
Please open the door
Please close the door
Please use my pen
Please keep my pen
Please use my book
Please keep my book

The student learns that please occupies "subject position," that the verb form is used without to or any inflection. You stay: stay: PLEASE stay.

2. Indirect objects:

Give the book to Mary.
V O P IO

Give the book to Mr. Hill.

Pay the money to Mary.

Pay the money to Mr. Hill.

Give the book ~~to~~ Mary

Give Mary the book.
V IO O

Give Mr. Hill the book.

Pay Mary the money.

Pay Mr. Hill the money.

Give her the book.

Give him the book.

Pay her the money.

Pay him the money.

These sentences can be expanded indefinitely staying within the patterns by using other names etc.

1 + 2 Combine with please:

Please give the book to Mary.
Please give Mary the book.

Please give the money to Mr. Hill.
Please give Mr. Hill the money.
Please give her the book.
etc., etc. . .

Teaching the lesson:

Pronunciation: The words are drilled in unison, groups, etc., in every possible order. The teacher's model is constantly given, is clear but not exaggerated. When all students can hear the contrast (this can be tested by having them raise their hands for same or different--or any such device) and when they can produce the contrast, then the sentences are used. Before the end of the class the drill may be repeated.

Dialog: After the teacher gives the dialog at conversational speed and meanings are clear, the students repeat phrase by phrase:

Mr. Sanchez
  Good evening, Mr. Sanchez
Mr. Hill
  Good evening, Mr. Hill
come in
  Please come in
Mr. Hill
  Thank you Mr. Hill
sit down
  Please sit down
here
  Is Miss Hill here?
Thanks. Is Miss Hill here?
  the movies
at the movies
  my sister's at the movies
No, my sisters at the movies
  this book
give her this book
  Please give her this book
Please give her this book
  I will
Yes, I will
  Mr. Hill
I have to leave
  I have to leave now
I have to leave now, Mr. Hill
  come again
Please come again
  Goodbye Mr. Sanchez
Goodbye Mr. Sanchez. Please come again.

  Goodbye
Mr. Hill
  Thank you Mr. Hill
Thank you Mr. Hill. Goodbye.

The dialog is again repeated without the buildups. Then starting with a student, the next gives the response, the third continues with the fourth student. All this goes on until every student can take either part. Books are closed for the drills.

Grammar

The grammar is presented with as little explanation as possible. One teaches the language rather than facts about the language! The first drill with please uses build ups. Stay, please stay, etc.

The indirect object is drilled the same way. Then points 1 and 2 are combined, and substitution vocabulary is used.

Give the book to Mary
pencil
pen
paper

to John
to Elizabeth
to Harry

Lend the book to Mary

etc. to John etc. . .

With these substitutions the teacher may offer only a cue:

Teacher: Give the book to Mary
Students: Give the book to Mary
Teacher: Pencil
Students: Give the pencil to Mary
Teacher: John
Students: Give the pencil to John
Teacher: Please give the pencil to John
Students: Please give the pencil to John.

etc. . . .

Teacher: Give John the pencil
Students: Give John the pencil
Teacher: Lend
Students: Lend John the pencil
Teacher: Lend John the pencil. Please.
Students: Please lend John the pencil.

The drill continues with substitute vocabulary but the pattern remaining intact. Only one substitution is made at a time, because students should be able to respond without hesitation. If students cannot do so, the drill is too difficult.

No material is usually assigned for homework that has not already been presented in class, although students may be allowed to look up vocabulary they are unfamiliar with. In a typical lesson hour the preceding lesson is usually reviewed first, then the new lesson is presented and drilled. If a lesson proves rather long it is spread over two class meetings. The inexperienced teacher often "chews up" the material before the students have achieved control of it.

What is most striking about this language teaching technique is that the whole class is involved every minute and the drill is rigidly controlled to minimize mistakes. Many devices which have not been illustrated are used by experienced teachers: questions with possible multiple response, transformation drills (change to negative, to question, to negative question etc.). There is no doubt, also, that such techniques speed up language learning.

The suggestion has been made, and in a few places implemented, that the techniques employed by foreign language teachers be used in teaching standard dialects of English. At first glance the suggestion seems far-fetched, after all the students do speak English but use "incorrect grammar and have sloppy pronunciation." Yet we must admit that traditional methods have not been spectacularly successful.

The attitude toward the non-standard dialect(s) is not helpful. There is a grammar but it is different. For a non-standard having *I went* and *me and him went* there is a special rule involved for the series construction, which may apply to all personal pronouns. There may be a favored order *me and him* being more frequent than *him and me*, or the order may be indifferent. A dialect might have *him and I* or *I and him* but not **he and me* or **me and he*. If one wanted to learn the sub-standard he would need to know these rules and all others that apply. A common feature of some sub-standard dialects is that final consonant clusters are simplified: *tol*,' *kep*,' *jus*,' etc. (this happens in rapid standard speech also). This simplification can interfere with addition of the past tense morpheme in speech: 'he walk home,' undifferentiated from 'he walk home' for present, thus forming a generalized tense.

Traditional teaching makes use of grammar study (parts-of-speech, subject-predicate-etc.) usage study (can-may, shall-will, like-as if etc.) and exercises for writing, including filling in blanks or choosing the correct form. Classes are silent much of the time, or the teacher talks and then calls upon students in turn. Real concentrated practice in using the desired forms is not possible. Although most of our communication is oral, the written language is stressed; the English teachers of our nation consume tank-cars of red-ink every year without result. Items of little utility are given as much attention as those which require intensive drill: who-whom as opposed to(he) likes. But materials can be built around dialect analysis and contrast with the desired standard. The rapid-fire drill techniques can be adapted. The texbooks of the future should incorporate the results of the contrastive analyses and the techniques.

Audio-visual aids

Many schools have acquired in recent years audio-visual aids of considerable sophistication: movie, film-strip, overhead and opaque projectors, closed circuit TV, and language laboratories. Such aids can be no better than the materials put into them. We all know that many teachers do not use our old standbys, the black-board and bulletin board, effectively; there is no magic in the new hardware.

For language teaching, language laboratories have proliferated. In their usual form they consist of tape recorders and listening-booths, with some equipment capable of individual recording at the student-booth positions, as well. Equipment makers continue to bring out new models incorporating new features, some of which may be of limited value in a specific school situation.

Small children would do better in a class, possibly with loudspeakers and one machine, or with part of the classroom used for tape recording. The question to be answered is how long they can use the equipment without boredom. Older children and adults profit most from the separate laboratory installation. Here they can practice without embarrassment and repeat the drills until they have mastered them.

It is this feature of language laboratories which is their strongest point--classroom drill can be repeated in the lab. Lessons which have been missed because of absence can be studied, weak students can be given supplementary work and excellent students can be given additional work of interest to them.

Preparation of tapes, as well as laboratory monitoring and upkeep, require time and money. If a reasonably sound proof studio is not provided, a living room with rugs and draperies does very well. Occasional noise is of little importance unless one wished to put the tapes on the commercial market. At least two sets of professionally prepared tapes have background noise built in to provide atmosphere. One should not hesitate because the surroundings are not ideal.

The script for a tape must be prepared beforehand, of course. If two or more voices are used they should contrast in pitch. Each speaker should be natural, neither "stagey" nor imprecise, and the speaking rate should be normal.

For a reading assignment the students may be instructed to follow the reading simultaneously in their books or prepared hand-out sheets. More advanced students may follow a prepared outline. The second reading may have the instruction to close the books. Then the tape voice may ask questions about the reading requiring informational answers, which the student may record. A whispered voice can provide the answers for a quick check-up. The reading may then be again given, and pencil tests be used to measure comprehension.

A dialogue may be read through once or twice at normal speed, then given with build-ups and student repetitions just as in classwork. Time must be allowed for the student to repeat the phrases, just how much depending upon trial-and-error. A rule of thumb is to allow twice as much time for the student as the time used by the model. This can be measured by a stop-watch, or the simple device of having the model repeat the expression twice to himself. After a dialogue has been drilled in the tape lesson the time may be reduced to one-and one-half the model's time.

In grammar the tape lesson can be used for substitution drills with cues (better than leaving blanks) and can be supplemented with pencil exercises. At no time should the grammar drill be a guessing contest. The student should manipulate the pattern without hesitation.

Teaching of pronunciation can follow the class pattern, but a caution is necessary. Students may not hear their mistakes and repeat their errors, resulting in confusion. The tape can help this by directions like "I'm going to say two words: bit--beet. Are they the same? Listen again etc." Monitoring of what the student is saying should be done whenever possible.

Supplementary materials which can be prepared are review lessons, extra drills for problem areas, as well as such material as additional readings, songs, or radio programs. At advanced levels plays, poetry, lectures, and programs taken from newscasts, provide good listening practice.

Of the other aids it is the overhead or opaque projectors which are of greatest use in the classroom. The overhead projector has the advantage of allowing the teacher to face the class and the opaque projector requires no specially prepared materials. Yet the very gadgetry may get in the way of efficient class use of time. Flannel-boards, use of the blackboard with colored chalk, and the use of large pictures of situations which can be talked about, are ordinarily more important in class. Commercially prepared materials must be carefully screened!

TRANSCRIPTIONS

These samples of the speech of disadvantaged children are given in a modified orthography. This practice has the advantage of allowing immediate recognition of grammatical forms used, and is, for many hearers, essential to understanding what is being said. The narrow phonetic transcription demonstrates the complexity of these utterances.

The paralinguistics of the recording of Senator Dirksen's Gallant Men has been transcribed in the section on non-verbal communication. The Senator has graciously given his permission for the inclusion of this material.

TRANSCRIPTION OF PUERTO RICAN ENGLISH

by Dagna Simpson

Name: Diana Roman
Age: 13
Place of Birth: San Juan, Puerto Rico
Years in U. S.: 1
Years in Chicago: 1

My name is Diana Roman. Come from Puerto Rico. I am thirteen years old. Yes, I have three brother and two sister... ma(rried). Ma(rried), huh?. My first brother has--let's see--have ten years old. His name Jose Roman. The second is Manuel Roman. He have fifteen years old. The--the nother he is Gilberto Roman. He adda seventeen years old. Ten and seven--ten and five--fifteen. I don't know say the years. Let's see. I say their names. The first is Genoveva Aguila. She adda--let's see--she hadda five childrens...five children. The nother one is Carnacion Sera. She hadda two children. I don't see another one (of)his, I see any more but two. Let's see. Genoveva Aguila is in New York. She speaks English. I don't see--let's see--I don't see any more but one children of her. Any more. But the nother I see the two childrens. Yes... No...Let's see. One gotta--let's see--one gotta ten years--ten years old. Her name is Lupita or Guadalupe...Guadalupe. The nother--the nother is Hector Flores...Hector. He has--'see--he hadda--thirt--no--thirteen--fourteen...fourteen. He work in the factory. My mother work--my mother is the wife house...the wife house.

mai̯ nẽ ʔsdi̯anaˆ ˣr̥oˇman

κə̃˒ fr̥ɔ̱˓m pɔɾoˇ r̥r̥iκõˇ

ai̯ æ̃ˆⁿ tə̆˒rtĨ·n i̯iˇ˒ɚ̯s oᵘɫᵗ

i̯ˇɛ·s ʔai̯ hæˇf tri brɔ̂ːðɛrʔ

ʔɛ̃˒n tu sɪˆstə̣̆ʔ mɛᴵo̯ mɛᴵo̯ hə̃ʔ

mai̯ fəɚ̯s brə̯˒ᶞə̣ hæ˒s hæ˒f tɛˆn

ᵈʒi̯iˇrs ʔoˆᵘ̱

ʰɪs nẽ ˣhoz̥se ˣr̥r̥oˇma˂n

dɛ̆̂ sɛˆκoŋ ɪs manu̯ɛl roˇma˒n

hiⁱ̯æˆfʔ fiˇᶠtɪˆ·n i̯iˇrs oˇɫ

dɛ̃˒ʔ dɛ̃̂ːnʌ̌ːᶞə ʔhiʔɪs hilbeˇ˒rto

ˈrromã˒

hi aɾe seβentĩ·nn i̯iˇrs o·ᵘ

tɛ̃^ⁿ ẽ sɛ^βən

tɛ^ʔẽ fai̯f

fiˇftɪ^n

NOTE: Alveolars [t, d, n, s] are usually dentalized [t̪, d̪, n̪, s̪].

TRANSCRIPTION OF NEGRO CHILD'S ENGLISH

by Emily Pettigrew Morris

Name: Velma
Age: 14
Place of Birth: Memphis, Tennese
Recorded in: Memphis

In the orthographic transcription the diagonal bar shows consonant omission. If there is any closure or glide the consonant is indicated.

And Baby Ann came back an tol eribody that Teresa say she didn't git no um, uh, give them to Will cause she thought she was gone eatum up. And so then they got--they got to arguin and they had uh. They was havin a trial when we go~~t~~ bac~~k~~. Joyce was uh,--.Joyce was uh a witness. See somebody told he~~r~~ tha~~t~~ Baby Ann had sai~~d~~ tha~~t~~ Teresa was gon uh,--. Teresa sai~~d~~ she wudn'~~t~~ gon gi~~ve~~ Baby Ann things cause she though~~t~~ she was gon eatum. An nen so when I got up there they,--. I in'~~t~~ know nothin abou~~t~~ i~~t~~ bu~~t~~ dey aks me. I tol~~d~~ 'em yea. And nen ney ass me who tol~~d~~ me. I tol~~d~~ 'um Ardina tol~~d~~ me. And nen eribody went to laffin. Eribody wint to laffin. And so nen they al--. They almost had me on trial cause I was tellin a story. An~~d~~ nen so Ardina said tha~~t~~----. Uh Ardina Curry. Ardina said dey mus~~t~~--. Uh dey, dey uh. Teresa mighta been said that for a joke like she jus~~t~~ said I tol~~d~~ her dat for a joke. And Teresa said she didn'~~t~~ say it. And nen Baby Ann jus~~t~~ kep~~t~~ on arguin. And Baby Ann was talkin bout Teresa's mama. Teresa se~~y~~ um'on git you. And so Teresa is Telisa's auntie. And so Mildred. So we hear~~d~~ Baby Ann talkin bout 'er, Teresa's mama. So we tol~~d~~ 'er. So den uh,--. I 'int tell it. I was jus~~t~~ listenin bu~~t~~ I heard everythang. An~~d~~ nen so Elaine Wesson was gon take up for Baby Ann talkin bout. "Eribody goin agains~~t~~ her." An~~d~~/nen we tol~~d~~ Mildred, and Mildred tol~~d~~,--. Uh tol~~d~~ Baby Ann not to be talkin bou~~t~~ tha~~t~~. An~~d~~ nen Telisa was just playin wi Baby Ann. N nen she gone gi~~t~~ ho~~t~~ wi her and gon jump on her. They didn'~~t~~ figh~~t~~ but they almos~~t~~ got to.

Elaine, Ardina and Elaine Wes~~t~~, dey in the club. Dey had,--. Dey done got to fightin. Dey got to fightin on the nigh~~t~~ of my bir~~th~~day party. And uh Elaine Wes~~t~~ and Elaine

Moore got to fightin. See Elaine West--. We went to see "The Bible". Elaine West slip her dress,---her sister dress. You know Sharon got some real pretty clothes. And Elaine slipped Sharon's dress out o the house and took it over Mary Alice en house that night and Mary Alice kept it for 'er. N next mornin Elaine put on all her clothes 'cept her dress, and put 'er coat on, and went over Mary Alice en house and put the dress on and went to school. And Elaine Moore told Sharon and Sharon got mad. And so Elaine West gon jump on Elaine Moore. And E---. And Elaine Moore put a great big old black scar,--. It's a,--. It's a great big old black scar right up here on Elaine West head. Elaine Moore put it on nere. She just,--. She 'one got to fightin so many times. And it's a girl she been 'one went home from school. You know she just be walkin. And she made up funny. And ney was meddlin her. And her sister wear glasses. And ney were meddlin her too. And so Elaine West gon git to fightin with that girl and ney saw the girl didn't wanna fight. She was, she was,--. Elaine West popped the girl and the girl was just keep on walkin. And nen she just popped the girl. Elaine just kept on poppin on 'at girl. And nen when ney got up there by Brown, well 'n ney hit dat girl and she fell down on ne,--. She fell down,--. Just layin down nere. And nen ney got her up. And nen ney got her up. And nen eribody went to talkin bout, "I wudn't in nat.","I wudn't in nat.',"I wudn't in nat, wuz I?" And nen-- . Her little sister had been trying to take up for her/ Her little sister bout in ne third grade and Elaine jumped on her. She jumped on ne little girl. But the little girl she did,--.

She (Elaine West) thank she can beat up eribody. She can do anythang any boy can do: play marbles, clamb trees. One day we was locked out of de house. And you know how how high dem-- de second-- upstairs is. She clambed, she clambed upstairs and opened our door for us. She open--. She opened ne door half way and she clambed up on the knob, and got on top the door; and she clambed on up dere and got in ne window, and came downstairs and opened ne door. Seven. She'on't,--. She come to club meetin all the time, and She 'on't, she'on't act like that in club meetin. Didn't you see 'at big black scar up there? Shar'-- Sharon be neat eriday. See Elaine don't take care of her clothes. Elaine git bout ten dresses and Sharon cin git ten and they can git'em on the same day. And Sharon, eritime she wear her dress, she wash it out and iron it and have it ready for n next day. Elaine wear her dress. She wear 'em and, se-, an~~d~~--an~~d~~ Sharon change clothes when she come'um school. Elaine play in ne clothes, git to fightin in 'em and tear 'um up. He~~r~~ and Mary Alice got to fightin one time n Mary Alice ripped the clothes off 'er. And Elaine, see Elaine had been talkin bou~~t~~ my mama. Talkin bou~~t~~, talkin bou~~t~~ my mama and talkin bou~~t~~ Mary Alice an~~d~~ Mary Alice jumped on 'er. rippin 'er--. Ripped her clothes off. Dat was before my party. Ripped 'er clother off. An~~d~~ nen me an~~d~~ Elaine was gon git to fightin. ~~A~~nd nen it was a girl. The girl I told you I wudn'~~t~~ gon invite to my party. She come talkin bou~~t~~ if I jump on,--jump on Elaine, she was gon jump in i~~t~~.

Well she, she jus~~t~~ don'~~t~~ lack me. I cin go in nat room, sit down and be just as quiet. The whole class cin be talkin excep~~t~~ me and she'll say I be talkin. Tha~~t~~ lady,--. An~~d~~ I used to si~~t~~, I si~~t~~, I be si~~tt~~in bou~~t~~ right here, an~~d~~ Lavora be si~~tt~~in righ~~t~~ here. An~~d~~ nen so she'll jus~~t~~ be tal~~k~~in to me an~~d~~ tal~~k~~in to me. An~~d~~ I jus~~t~~ be si~~tt~~in up there writin and listenin to he~~r~~ too. An~~d~~ nen she'll say. "You gon git a 'U' in conduc~~t~~." Be talkin bou~~t~~ me and she /on/t never say nu~~tt~~in to he~~r~~. See, she in ne hono~~r~~ society. Bu~~t~~ she the hono~~r~~ society adviso~~r~~. Um hum. An~~d~~ she jus~~t~~ be,--. Eriday---. Eriday she te~~ll~~ me um on gi~~t~~ a 'U' in conduc~~t~~.

I 'one already mo~~v~~ed. Si~~t~~ back there ni. Tuesday----. She still blames it on me. An~~d~~ i~~t~~'s two girls; jus~~t~~ li~~ke~~ Lavora; righ~~t~~ nex~~t~~ to 'er, bu~~t~~ she worse. Tal~~k~~, tal~~k~~, tal~~k~~. Dey, --. He~~r~~, he~~r~~ and Lavora cin be jus~~t~~ talkin an~~d~~ talk the whole perio~~d~~. An~~d~~ I cin jus~~t~~ turn aroun~~d~~ an~~d~~ as~~k~~s Barbara cin I uh, uh,use he~~r~~ he~~r~~ eraser an~~d~~ she'll say I be talkin, an~~d~~ te~~ll~~ me um on git a 'U' in conduc~~t~~.

Tuesday and Wednesday eighth,--, seventh and eigh~~t~~ gra~~de~~ ha~~d~~ their uh achievemen~~t~~ tes~~t~~. So we had to stay stay in our home room all day Tuesday. So I was si~~tt~~in bac~~k~~ there. So eribo~~dy~~ was talkin you know,--. An~~d~~ so I wudn'~~t~~ sayin no~~th~~in. An~~d~~ din Jackie aks me some~~th~~in an~~d~~ I sai~~d~~ yea. An~~d~~ nen she tol~~d~~ me she was gon gi~~ve~~--. First she ha~~d~~ 'on tol~~d~~ Lavora,---. It was the firs~~t~~ time she ever tol~~d~~ Lavora some~~th~~ing. She se~~y~~ she was gon give her a 'U' in conduc~~t~~. An~~d~~ nen she tol~~d~~ me, "You on na~~t~~ lis~~t~~ too. You always talkin." An~~d~~ nen so one day she kep~~t~~ me in nough. One day she kep~~t~~ me in. I was talkin nat day an~~d~~ I saw he~~r~~ lookin, I--I saw 'er lookin righ~~t~~ in my mouth an~~d~~ I jus~~t~~ kep~~t~~ on talkin an~~d~~ rolled my eyes up. She was jus~~t~~ si~~tt~~in up dere lookin at me. An~~d~~ I saw 'er lookin at me, an~~d~~ turned my head an~~d~~ jus~~t~~ kep~~t~~ on talkin.

Me an~~d~~ my brother's almos~~t~~ git to fightin eriday. They ---. See me and my brother, we the only two like to look at television an~~d~~ so he have a week and I have a week. I beat him up las~~t~~ Friday nigh~~t~~.. An~~d~~ so all on my week I let him look at everythang he want~~ed~~ look cause I though~~t~~ on his week he was gon le~~t~~ me look at nothin. An~~d~~ all on---. All day Saturday I let him look at everythang he want~~ed~~ to look a~~t~~. An~~d~~ nen one picture, I wanted to see it, Friday Nigh~~t~~ at the Movie. His week was almos~~t~~ over wi~~th~~, Friday Nigh~~t~~ at the Movie. He let me see half o~~f~~ it an~~d~~ nen he chang~~ed~~ station~~s~~ an~~d~~ looked at some~~th~~ing else. An~~d~~ nen so den I was lookin at the la~~te~~ movie. An~~d~~ nen he call hisself gon change, gon ma,-- gon change stations. An~~d~~ so I jus~~t~~ popped 'im. An~~d~~ nen he went, he gon jeck the knob, an~~d~~ I popped 'im an~~d~~ poppe~~d~~ 'im an~~d~~ po~~pp~~e~~d~~ 'im. An~~d~~ nen he went to cryin an~~d~~ wen~~t~~ downstair~~s~~. N my mama wudn'~~t~~ at home an~~d~~ when she came home she told him. I tol~~d~~ he~~r~~ how I had been lettin him look at television an~~d~~ he 'i~~d~~n'~~t~~ wan~~t~~ me look at nuthin. An~~d~~ I finishe~~d~~ lookin at the picture an~~d~~ he went to be~~d~~.

In the country. Sardis. Uh, Strayhorn. We ge~~t~~ one stay in Strayhorn an~~d~~ we go~~t~~ one stay in Sardis. An~~d~~ our auntie stay east of Sen~~a~~tobi~~a~~. An~~d~~ somebo~~dy~~,--. Our uncle stay in Crenshaw. We st,-- over our grandmama'~~s~~ house we stay in Strayhorn. Aw I be doin,--. Uh, I be-- I be readin. That's only thang I be doin most time. They be ou~~t~~ in pasture somewhere. When,---. We went down nere on ne Sunday before Easter. We was goin to a funeral an~~d~~ my mama bough~~t~~ all us our Easter clothes cause she want~~ed~~ us to wear um to the funeral. So she wen~~t~~ an~~d~~ bough~~t~~ them they sui~~t~~s an~~d~~ erithing. An~~d~~ nen when ney go~~t~~ down nere ney found out my grandmama wudn'~~t~~ goin, they wen~~t~~ out there. The funeral was at two, an~~d~~ ney stayed out there ti~~l~~ five minutes to two,--commin in ne house cau~~se~~ they know they wudn't go gi~~t~~. Two,--. Le~~t~~ me see,--. I was fifteen minutes to two,--. Cause then they know they wudn'~~t~~ go~~n~~ have no chance to go. An~~d~~ nen ney commin in ne house, an~~d~~ nen come ~~t~~al~~k~~in bou~~t~~, "We wanna go." An~~d~~ nen my daddy say, "You ain'~~t~~ goin cause you ain'~~t~~ go~~t~~ you~~r~~ hair cu~~t~~." Me an~~d~~ my auntie, we was finna go. An~~d~~ nen ney wen~~t~~ bac~~k~~ in na~~t~~ room and gon go to cryin.

He, he go~~t~~ co~~tt~~on. We have to chop co~~tt~~on too. In ne summertime. We gon have to chop more'em we did las~~t~~ year. Las~~t~~ year we, we got th~~r~~ough in two day~~s~~. Las~~t~~ year he had two acres. This year he got fo~~ur~~. He go~~t~~ co~~tt~~on. And he go~~t~~ corn. An~~d~~ den my grandmama go~~t~~ a ga~~rden~~,---go~~t~~ two gardens at lea~~st~~. She go~~t~~ one up--up dere by ~~th~~ehouse, and she go~~t~~ one on over dere. An~~d~~ in nere she go~~t~~ watermelon, corn, peas, mushmelons, an~~d~~ stuff like tha~~t~~.

English. Our teacher when we first got in nere. "I haven't got a pet." She a teacher's daughter. Teachers always like the teacher's daughter over the other children, especially if the teacher go--is a teacher at that school. She sit right next to me. So she so stingy. I uh have some candy uh something, and she'll aks me for some and I 'on't be wantin to give it to 'er but I'll go on and give it to 'er. And so nen one day she aks me how de spell a little old simple word. What was that word? It start wi a 'S'. It was, it was scot, I think. S-C-O-T. She didn't know how to spell it, and I told 'er. It was on a cross word puzzle. And nen I aksd her for something. Naw. The girl sittin on ne other side of me named Delores she aks her let 'er use her ink pen. She say, "After today you not gonna use my ink pen anymore. You better bring your own." And so, Delores gave her the ink pen back. And nen teacher come talkin bout uh. "I don't have any pets in here." Eribody cin come in ne room and sit down. Here go Teresa, "May I go ov,--over to so and so and so and so's room?" "May I go over to so and so and so ru--?" She have bout ten places to go when she git in nat room, and teacher let her go eri place. And one day I had, I had my brother's lunch money and I wanted to gibe it to him. And I told 'er ne reason I wanted ne go. And she wouldn't even let me go but--and, and she say, she say couldn't nobody go and nen Teresa just walked up, up there and had ten places to go and she went to all of them(ubum), but I couldn't go take my brother hes lunch money.

I 'on't say nuttin to um. I do my, I do my lesson. And I sit, I sit right in front of de teachers too. Dat what I.--. I on't like to sit in front of no teacher's desk. They always put my seat up dere. I be goin to the back. See she got us in alphabetical order. And nat way,--. It's a, it's a round circle and den it's another round circle and nen um on ne outside. Right at her desk too. But I, I do my work. I do my,--. I 'on't say nuttin ne nobody hardly. She'on't never have to git on me in English for doin nuttin. I 'on't never say nuttin. But Teresa. Sometimes she cin go tell Teresa, "Teresa I'm surprised at you bout you doin nat." And nen she, she 'on't lack,--. She 'on't lack fur you de talk in her room and she 'on't lack fur you to chew gum. And, and nem chiren just be chewin away. She 'on't say nuttin. Person sit next to me be chewin, be slippin in and chew eri once in a while. And she git'em. She really git'em.

I used to be treasurer. Yea, I wanted to stay dere. I was de treasurer. And nen we have, had'um eri three months, I thin~~k~~. N in Ja~~n~~uary we, we chose officers again. And uh, I was secretary. Joyce was secretary an~~d~~, an~~d~~ uh I was treasurer, an~~d~~ before i~~t~~ was somebo~~d~~y. I un forgo~~t~~ who was presiden~~t~~. See we didn'~~t~~, "All in favor so an~~d~~ so an~~d~~ so an~~d~~ so for trea~~surer~~." We 'idn'~~t~~ so li~~k~~e tha~~t~~. We jus~~t~~,--. We deci~~de~~d dat we ~~wo~~uld jus~~t~~ put all the names in a bag an~~d~~ pull out. Say dis gon be presi~~d~~en~~t~~, we pull out a name an~~d~~ who ever tha~~t~~ be, be the president. An~~d~~ Georgia May both times she turned out vice-president. John,--. You know tha~~t~~ one wha~~t~~ Mil~~d~~re~~d~~ say don'~~t~~ har~~d~~ly,--. She, she talk a lot, but she wudn'~~t~~ talkin nen. She 'on't har~~d~~ly, ever talk though, unless she go~~t~~ some~~th~~ing ne say.

Ardina nem try do. See I alway,---. Me an~~d~~ Joyce we talk over club business on ne way to school an~~d~~ nen when club meetin come we already know wha~~t~~ we go~~t~~ talk abou~~t~~. I~~t~~'s all righ~~t~~. I 'on'~~t~~ know. I'on'~~t~~ never go nowhere with 'em har~~d~~ly though. Mildred tol~~d~~ me. She 'in't tell me wh--you know when they was goin to that basketball game. Mil~~d~~re~~d~~ tol~~d~~ me she sai~~d~~, uh Liberty Bowl,--. She tol~~d~~ me meet 'er at the bus sto~~p~~ at ten o'clock. An~~d~~ so I call~~ed~~ he~~r~~ an~~d~~ nen she sai~~d~~ she tol~~d~~ me she was go~~ne~~ gi~~ve~~ me fi~~f~~teen extra minutes cause she forgo~~t~~. See I,--. See she 'int't tell me what time. An~~d~~ so I call~~ed~~ he~~r~~ an~~d~~ nen she tol~~d~~ me ten o'clock. An~~d~~ i~~t~~ was fi~~f~~teen minutes to ten. She tol~~d~~ me she was gon gi~~ve~~ me fi~~f~~teen extra minutes. An~~d~~ at ten o'clock I was up there at the bus station. You know up there a~~t~~ Walker, up,--. An~~d~~ nen so she didn'~~t~~ tell me it was down nere on Porter an~~d~~ Williams. An~~d~~ I was up there an~~d~~ nen dey lef~~t~~ me. Cau~~se~~ I 'in'~~t~~ know where to go. I~~t~~'s all righ~~t~~. I~~t~~ 'on'~~t~~ make me no di~~ff~~eren~~ce~~. I jus~~t~~ soon be a~~t~~ home lookin a~~t~~ television. Go somewhere. All dey be doin when dey be goin,--. Jus~~t~~ la~~ck~~ when ney went to de circus,--. All dey be doin--goin to the bathroom. Only time I lef~~t~~ out was when it was intermission. An~~d~~ i~~t~~'s a lady, lady sent me at uh, uh, at some~~th~~in. I 'in'~~t~~ wan~~t~~ ne go, ~~th~~en bu~~t~~ I wen~~t~~ on an wen~~t~~. She gave me a dime. Arnita Smith'~~s~~ mama. Arnita Smith, she was in it, but she 'in'~~t~~ never come to club meetin.

Aw yea. I ain'~~t~~ th~~r~~ough bout my teachers yet. My Home Ec. teacher. I made a,--, I made a 'A' in her room this six weeks. I 'on'~~t~~ do nuttin in nere. She lac~~k~~ me. Yea she la~~ck~~s me. But she 'on't lack me. She lack Charlotte---Secretary's daughter. I have to take. Eritime I have to take a class wid a teacher's daughter or some~~th~~in. Charlotte is secretary's daughter. Shoo~~t~~ she, she treat eribody differen~~t~~. All nem teachers do. Jus~~t~~ lack teacher's daughter~~s~~. They, they git,--. Jus~~t~~ lack in uh Civics. I 'on'~~t~~ take Civics on nis period but I don had. I don heard people talk. Teacher. Same teacher. She crazy bout all the secretary daugh--. Uh all the children who mama teach and stuff. She give them work to do and stuff like that. And if you on the honor society you really wid her. I did try and nen I got a 'C' in English. And nen my Civics teacher come talkin bout, "Don't beg for no grade." See our English teacher told, gave us our average and she left off two of our papers and den she told us if we needed them grades, well she would add 'em to it. And so she didn't add mines to it. But she added some other--, some of the other children. And I was a 'C' and nen I told my homeroom teacher. She come talkin bout, "Don't beg for no grade." I say, "I ain't beggin for dis grade, I earned nat grade." I made two one hundreds and go on nis six weeks. I 'on't care of they on git 'em now. I 'on't,--. I ain't gon try to make the honor roll no more. My Home Ec teacher. She may lack,--. In ne, in ne cookin room she couldn't do nuttin for Charlotte cause you know eribody had to cook separately. But in the sewin room if you make a apron and you make a good mark on ne apron, well then you'll uh cin make a dress. I,--. Charlotte didn't s'pose make no dress. Cause all the work dat was done on her on her apron was done by the teacher . See dis the way it do. She'll say, she'll say, "Have, have, have you got to the so and so and so and so Charlotte?" Charlotte say, 'No ma'am." And the other children be ready for dat and she'll say wait awhile. And nen when Charlotte finish she'll take Charlotte's dress and and her apron and, and, and show us what to so. And nen she wudn't so nobody else like dat. The only person's dress she demonstrated on. Only person's apron she demonstrated on was Charlotte's and Charlotte made ninety-three. Naw ninety-two. I was on make ninety six on my apron and nen she took off three points though. I on---. It on care. I on't make me no difference. And she, she just crazy bout Charlotte. Erithing happen, Charlotte do this. And some children,--. If, if you on't git to know teachers at school that ain't nuttin. Just like it was a girl. She real quiet en'on't. She just go to her class and listen to the teacher. She 'on't hardly ever talk. And its,--. And the teacher aks her, "Do you know de secretary?" And she said. "No ma'am." And nen she 'um talkin bout. "You 'on't know Charlotte's mama. Charlotte go and show her your mama."

wɛ̃ɤ ʃii̯ˆ ʃi dʒɛ˒s dõᵘ læˇɪ̯˒ġ mɪ̂i̯

aˆᵊˆg̊ŋ goᵛɪnnæᵊ̆ ru̯ũ˂ᵐ sɪɪãθ̃m̆bi

dʒɛ˒sɛ̆ẓ kwæˇˑɛ̯t̚

ðə hoˑᵘ̯ˠ kɬæˑɪ̯̆s kɛ̃bi tʰɔˇᵒkŋ̊

nˀɛ˂ġsɛp mi˒ⁱˆ

ɪ̃ˑ ʃilseˇˑ aˑᵊ bi tʻɒːkŋ̊

ða̰ʔ tɬeˑᵈ æˆn aˆɪ̯˒ i̯ustəsɪ˒ˑʔ a˒ˑᵊ

sɪ˒ᴵʔ a˒ˑᵊ bi sɪʔn̩bă˒u̯ʔ raˑˑɪ̯ʔt̚

hɪˆˑə̯ ɜːn ləˇvɔᵊɬ biˑ sɪt̬n ra˒ɪ̯

hɪˆˑə̯ æˇnɪ̃ᵊ̃ⁿsoˑ ʃiˠdʒɪːsbi̯ˇi tɔˇᵒkŋ̊

n̯əmiˇⁱ n̩ tʻɔˇᵓkŋ̊ⁿə̆mi n̩a˒ˑɪ̯

dʒɛ̂ˀs bi sɪd̆n̩nʌp ðæ^ə̂ raˀ̬·ᴵdn

ɪ̆n lɪsⁿn̩ t'ɪ̠̮ᵊ t'ʉ·ᶶ^

TRANSCRIPTION OF APPALACHIAN ENGLISH

by N. Louanna Furbee

Name: Donnie
Age: 10
Place of Birth: Barboursville, Kentucky
Recorded in: Chicago (Chicago, 1 yr.)

That's all I knows is aks him. He went in ner an it wern't nothin an he looked over pigs pen... An it was the pigs rootin in the... it was the corn. Scared me ta death.

Ders a cottonmouth bit--bit er cow right over here, and it swelled and we got ta take ta cow to a doctor. ... We went fishin down ner at di park and we never--we stayed all day and never even got a bite. ...

They aint got no ponies; they got big horses. ...I rode one, real big uns. Scare me. ...I had a pony. Ya say get up Peanut, den he'll say yonk, choom! ...I dont know. It (w)as. A red one. Yah...red one...And it had a slick back, it goes mmm, like at. ...He got down 'n wallered wif me. See he started to lay down an when he started wallerin I got off. Wif this new saddle, he tore this new saddle off. My brother got mad. He wentnt down 'n got wallered with this new saddle. Me on him too. But I got off... I know. He did dat to my cousin too and she hopped off like everything. She wouldn't get on his back no more. ...See, yeh my cousin--my broth--, my brother, my cousin see he got on it 'n made that--pony got after me, and so I went up in the barn, climbed up in the barnloft.

His long tail got real long. My father had to cut his hair off, it was laygin right on the ground. His tail...

My father cut it off some. His hair. ...By his neck ker, his--hit uz hangin down. My father--Hit wunt real long. Hit was hangin down pretty well. I wouldn't let my father cut hit off. ...I wouldn't let my father cut some of hit off. ...I wouldn't let my father cut some of it off. ..Cause hit wasn't long. He wanted to cut it off. He didn't like it hangin down. I do. ...Braid it, what's that...Yeh...He likes you to comb his, you know, hair. ... His hair's real curly...see it goes down straight--way down some and at the bottom of it, curls up. ...My pony's hair... See it goes straight down...You know, this. ...It goes straight down the half way den turns up 'n curls. ...No, we sold dim for a cow. We needed a cow. Another one. Cause ers wasn't givin too much milk. My father traded im. Our cousin had--uh--two ponies. He had six, and he was sellin em for his boss, see, the job was for sellin em. That's where we bought er pony--offin our cousin.

ʔə̣ æᵗs ɒ˄·ᵘ̯ ʔa·ɪ̰˅ nõᵘ̯z ʔẓ

ʔæᵏs ʔɪm

ʔʉ˅ʉ ʔi wɪ̃˅n ʔɪ̃n nɛ̃x̞

ʔn ɪ̃˅ʔ wə̣̃˃nᵗ nʌ̃·ʔtn̩ nĩʔ

lʊ˂kt oᵘ̯vɚ ʔə̣ pʻɪ̰·g̊ᵏˢ

pʻɪ̃˅n

ʔɪ̌˃·zᵈə kᶦ̣ pʻə̣ ʔpʻɪ̰̂˂gᶻ̣

rʉ˃ʉ^ʔn̩ ʔɪ̃ⁿ nəʔ β̥ʊ̆ʔ

ʔɪ˅ʔ wəz zə kʻo·ɚn

skeɚd mi də̆ dɛ·ᵊθ̆

SUMMARY

Teachers are being required to deal more effectively with the language problems of disadvantaged children. Such children include the in-migrant poor from the rural South and the non-English speakers such as the Puerto Ricans. Yet most teachers have been unable to avail themselves of opportunities to acquire the requisite linguistic training to enable them to improve their insights and methodologies.

It is the purpose of this project to make such information available to these teachers in such a fashion that they will be able to profit from it without having access to the help of trained linguists or formal course work.

In order to accomplish this, we have begun with two background sections. The first discusses the three dimensions of language differences--historical, regional, and social--that account for usages frequently condemned without being understood. The second aims at providing a deeper understanding of the nature of the social classes, particularly what it is like to be disadvantaged.

Most difficult for teachers to comprehend is the phonological system of the language. The traditional orthography and perhaps a bowing acquaintance with the diacritics used in the Websters II unabridged dictionary tend, indeed, to handicap the teacher in hearing the systematic speech differences which people from different dialect or language backgrounds produce. The sections on phonetics and phonemics and on the suprasegmental phonemes progress from the most simple of phonetic data to organization of more complex data into a phonological system.

Problem Areas in Grammar, using the traditional categories of morphology--noun, pronoun, verb, adjective and adverb--and of syntax, points out those items which have proved most troublesome for disadvantaged learners. The materials are based upon experience with disadvantaged speakers supplemented by research data from Linguistic Atlas studies.

The pronunciation and grammar sections are followed by a list of phonologic and morphologic features that have been found to be nearly universally associated with lower-class or non-standard English.

Non-verbal communication plays a most important role in determining our attitudes toward verbal messages. Paralanguage, the sounds which accompany the ordinary speech message, kinesics or the study of body motion, and haptics, the signalling and the expression of feeling through touching and bodily contact, are described in detail. For the first time anywhere, it is believed, a notational system for haptics is set forth. A transcription of the paralanguage of Senator Dirksen's reading of Gallant Men is given in this section.

Because many of our foreign-language-speaking children are of Spanish background, a detailed analysis and comparison is made of the phonology of English and Spanish. The grammatical systems are not treated in such detail, however, since a complete course in Spanish would be needed in order to make such a comparison complete. The sketch of language problems of Acadian English speakers, the Louisiana French, shows how a teacher may make a simplified study of a particular foreign-language-speaking group to form a basis for language teaching.

In the section on language learning and teaching, the methods which have been proved by three decades of use in TESOL programs are described, including a sample lesson with its presentation of audio-lingual drills. This is followed by a brief explanation of audio-visual aids, the most important being the language laboratory and preparation of tapes for lesson supplements.

Transcriptions of the speech of three disadvantaged children, a Negro girl, a hillboy, and a Puerto Rican girl, with accompanying tapes illustrate the pronunciation and some grammatical features of these speakers. The narrow transcriptions show how complex their dialects are, and the modified orthography enables the hearer to follow the tapes with relative ease. Untranscribed materials recorded on the tapes provide additional source material for noting informally the range and nature of the variations from Standard English.

A book-list bibliography is followed by a selected bibliography with extended comment. Of course, all pertinent materials cannot be included. However, sufficient information has been given to allow an interested teacher to select books and articles within the range of her interest for further study.

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Lin, San-su C. "Pattern Practice in the Teaching of Standard English to Students with a Non-Standard Dialect" Department of English: Southern University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana (work done at Claflin College, Orangeburg, North Carolina).

Laurence, Caroline. "Study of Standard Dialect of Negro College Students," Center for Research in Language and Language Behavior: University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

Lott, Marilyn, Title Unknown, Department of Linguistics: University of California at Berkeley.

Morin, Shirley and Midkiff, Ronald. "Some Evidence for Teaching English as a Second Dialect" Burrillville High School, Harrisville, Rhode Island, and Rome City Schools, Ga.

Osser, Harry. "Speech Development in Children with Emphasis on the Development of Syntax in Urban Children who Speak a Non-Standard Dialect," John Hopkins Hospital, Baltimore, Maryland.

Riegel, Klaus F. and Martin, Edwin J. "Development of Language Functions: Developmental Studies in Semantics," Center for Human Growth and Development; University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

Rumery, June. "A Comparison of Some Grammatical Aspects of Non-Standard and Standard English" Department of Linguistics: University of California at Berkeley.

Williamson, Juanita. "A Study of the Speech of Negro High School Students in Memphis," Department of English, LeMoyne College, Memphis, Tennessee.

Current Social Dialect Research at American Higher Institutions. Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics and the National Council of Teachers of English.

The Center for Applied Linguistics and the NCTE have cooperated in forming the Clearing House for Social Dialect Studies to regularly issue summaries of current research in the field. For information, write Roger Shuy, Center for Applied Linguistics, 1717 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

Allen, Harold B. (ed.)

Readings in Applied English Linguistics. Second Edition. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1964

Allen has selected papers that relate to different topics in English linguistics. The first two parts of the book give adequate background on the historical development of modern linguistics, and on the various theories influencing English linguistics today. The entire collection has been compiled with the needs of the English teacher in mind. For example, Part IV (Linguistics and Usage) deals with the dilemmas teachers face when the dicta of "traditional grammar" do not correspond to the statements of structural linguists. Eleven articles there specifically treat the differences in these two points of view, drawing parallels where possible; two of the most helpful are "Prescriptivism and Linguistics in Language Teaching," by Archibald A. Hill, and "Teachers' Attitudes Toward Current Usage," by Thurston Womack. The sections on grammar and composition (Part V), the dictionary (Part VI), and literary analysis (Part VII) are all good; in the last is an especially interesting paper by Seymour B. Chatman, "Linguistics and Teaching Introductory Literature."

For those interested in dialectology, the most valuable section will be Part III, Linguistic Geography. Although most papers in it are on regional dialectology, at least one ("Some Social Differences in Pronunciation," by Raven I. McDavid, Jr.) is devoted to social dialectology, and all papers in the section offer good general information on dialectology. In addition to that by McDavid, the following also appear in the section: "Area Linguistics and the Teacher of English" (Hans Kurath), "Linguistic Geography and Freshman English" (Albert H. Marckwardt), "The Linguistic Atlases: Our New Resource"

(Harold B. Allen), "Principal and Subsidiary Dialect Areas in the North Central States" (Albert H. Marckwardt), "The Primary Dialect Areas of the Upper Midwest" (Harold B. Allen), "Grease and Greasy: A study of Geographical Variation" (E. Bagby Atwood), and "Phonemics and Phonics in Historical Phonology" (Hans Kurath). The book as a whole can be recommended as both a good text and a valuable reference work.

Atwood, E. Bagby

A Survey of Verb Forms in the Eastern United States. Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1953.

A very useful book based on an examination of the field records from the Linguistic Atlas of New England and of the Middle and South Atlantic States. Atwood has outlined concisely the methods he used in compiling and evaluating the pertinent material from field records. He also has given information on the types of informants in the study (Type I--those of poor education, II--those of fair education, III--those of superior education; each group is further divided into A, aged or 'old-fashioned informants, and B, middle-aged or younger, hence more modern, informants). The verb forms in the survey proper are divided into six categories: tense forms, personal forms of the present indicative, number and concord, negative forms, infinitive and present participle, and phrases. For all these forms, the author provides the context in which they occur (corresponding to the question on the work sheet); for example, the preterit of "begin" recorded in context "He (began) to talk." The various responses to this question are then surveyed for each of the items; that is, in what regions and among what types of informants each item was recorded. There are also 31 maps, on which the occurrences of items and isoglosses are plotted. The final section of the book evaluates the data, discusses the geographical distribution of the forms, gives origins of some verb forms, and summarizes some of the characteristics of popular usage.

Baugh, Albert C.

A History of the English Language. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1935.

For some time, this has been one of the most popular texts for courses in the History of the English language. The book begins with a section on language and selected linguistic topics, including a chapter on the Indo-European language family, which relates all branches of that family and also reviews basic principles of dialect differentiation and language change, including Grimm's law. With this as background, Baugh then traces the history of English from Old English to Modern English. For each period, he relates changes in the language to linguistic, cultural, and political influences. In the final chapters, he gives a careful review of modern trends in the language, and of the views of traditional grammarians on what is "proper". One chapter is devoted to the English language in America, including a settlement history, comments on American ideas of purity in language, and a survey of American dialects. The last is out of date, but the general statements on dialects are valid. There are two appendices: one giving specimens of the Middle English dialects, and one on English spelling.

Bloomfield, Leonard

Language. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1933.

A rather difficult book, mainly because of the density of the material covered rather than the manner in which the material is presented. The author begins with general statements about the nature of language, and then proceeds to a discussion of speech communities and the languages of the world. He presents a comprehensive section on the organization of a grammer and on grammatical theory, which has provided many of the fundamental assumptions of structural linguistics. He then traces the general principles of historical and comparative linguistics. Also included is a chapter on dialect geography which, though thirty-five years old, contains many of the basic principles under which current dialect geographers still operate.

The final chapters of the book, those dealing with historical linguistics, have been reprinted in paperback, under the editorship of Harry Hoijer, as Language History, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965.

Francis, W. Nelson

The Structure of American English. New York: The Ronald Press, 1958.

A standard non-transformational introduction to English structure, including phonetics, phonemics, morphemics, parts of speech, syntax, and graphics. The chapter on the analysis of sentence structure, however, is rather dated, since the author uses of "Chinese boxes," now no longer in use, to separate constituents.

Raven I. McDavid, Jr. has contributed a chapter, "The Dialects of American English," which delimits the major dialect areas of the eastern United States. McDavid also points out the salient differences between these dialects, and traces the methodology used in the Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada.

Fries, Charles Carpenter

American English Grammar: The Grammatical Structure of Present-Day American English with Especial Reference to Social Differences or Class Differences. New York and London: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1940.

A pioneer study in social language differences. The author uses letters to the U. S. War Department during World War I, and divides the writers of these letters into three classes: college graduates, high school graduates, and those of eighth grade education or less. He then describes what usages were common to each group.

Many of Fries' conclusions are rather surprising, and certainly at variance with school grammars. He discovered, for example, that educated speakers use "I will," "It's me," and other so called examples of "bad grammar." Because of these and other findings, Fries argues that English programs in the schools be based on some empirically-derived concept of standard English, rather than on the presumptuous dicta of "authorities."

Fries, Charles C.

Linguistics and Reading. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1962.

A non-technical descriptive survey of modern linguistic knowledge, an analysis of the nature of the reading process in the light of that knowledge, and a detailed linguistic examination of the kinds of materials to which the reader must develop high-speed recognition responses. Fries reviews past practice and theory in the teaching of reading and the question of language meanings and language signals. After a survey of English spelling, both past and present patterns, Fries presents the outline of a linguistically sound approach to the teaching of reading. That approach involves three stages: the first, the "transfer" stage, includes the learning of letters and the learning of spelling patterns; the second is the stage of "productive" reading, and the third is the stage of "vivid imaginative realization".

Gleason, H. A., Jr.

An Introduction to Descriptive Linguistics, (revised edition)
New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961.

One of the best introductions to linguistics to date. After discussing the ways the linguist views language, the author presents an analysis of the English language in order to illustrate the basic principles of descriptive linguistics. He begins with morphology and syntax, including a brief introduction to transformational grammar. Then, he introduces articulatory phonetics and the phoneme. The book concludes with chapters on dialects, the history of writing, and the classification of the languages of the world.

To best profit from this introduction, one should use it in conjunction with Gleason's, Workbook in Descriptive Linguistics (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1955). Although the problems in the workbook are seldom ones of English structure, one can use the workbook in order to better understand how the linguist solves language problems in general. Unfortunately, however, no answer key to the problems is provided.

Gleason, H. A., Jr.

Linguistics and English Linguistics. New York: Holt, Rinehard and Winston, 1965.

An attempt to bridge the gap between the work of the linguist and the teacher of English. The author divides his book into three major sections. The first traces both the history of the schoolroom grammar tradition and the development of modern linguistics. The second section contains a detailed discussion of English grammar, viewed mainly from the point of view of transformational grammar and immediate constituent analysis. In the third section, the author tries to form a bridge between the first two parts, to show what linguistics can add to the classroom English teacher's repertoire of ideas and methods. He concludes by arguing for "critical thinking" about grammar.

Hickerson, Nathaniel

Education for Alienation. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966.

A burning indictment of American education, which demonstrates that our present system of education more often condemns a disadvantaged child to a disadvantaged adulthood rather than giving him either the motivation or the skills to compete in the dominant culture. Hickerson views the result as a vast waste of human energy, resources, and talent.

The process of alienation begins in the elementary school. Children from disadvantaged homes enter with fewer skills (or with skills incompatible with the aims of middle-class teachers) than do children from more affluent homes. Since they are not yet "ready to learn to read," they are put in remedial reading groups, and, while other children progress, disadvantaged are held back in their learning. By the second or third grade, ability is often screened with I.Q. tests that actually test learned knowledge much more accurately than innate ability. Children who have been in remedial groups are usually assigned to "slow" classes, often taught by prejudiced, inadequate teachers. In high school, since they have inadequate preparation in academic subjects, these children participate in vocational programs. These seldom offer really adequate teaching of skills; the skills taught may not even be marketable. To effect reform, Hickerson makes the following recommendations: familiarize teachers with the facts concerning the relationship between race and intelligence and the effect of culture on behavior; require teacher-training institutions to give students experience in working with the children of the economically deprived; purge from the teaching profession any who are not reasonably free of race-mindedness or social or economic caste-inspired intolerance; alter curriculums in the social sciences to indicate that democracy can be truly raceless and casteless; eliminate I.Q. testing; reconsider our practices of grouping children according to supposed ability; try to bring the families of the economically deprived into the school environment as participants; bring into our schools representatives of minority groups and economically deprived peoples who have achieved economic success; enlist the aid of older children of the economically deprived who have done well in school; strengthen the academic curriculum offered to the economically deprived; eliminate segregation in schools; institute massive inservice education programs for teachers, administrators, and counselors in public school work.

Koutsoudas, Andreas

Writing Transformational Grammars: An Introduction. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1966.

The best and most recent introduction to the field. The principles of transformational grammar are introduced, and exercises in applying the principles are liberally interspersed throughout the book. These exercises are well organized, and answers to them are provided, along with extended discussion of solutions.

After introducing the basic concepts of transformational grammar, Koutsoudas proceeds to take up each aspect of such a grammar in turn; i.e., morphophonemics, permutation, embedding, and the like. The author includes an appendix, in which all symbols are listed and defined, and also a selected bibliography.

Kurath, Hans

A Word Geography of the Eastern United States. Ann Arbor, Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 1949.

This study, based on the field records for the Linguistic Atlas of New England and of the Middle and South Atlantic States summarizes the geographical distribution of over 600 vocabulary items, of which many have been charted on one of the 163 maps. In the introductory chapter, Kurath gives a survey of the settlement areas and speech areas in the Eastern United States, of the national stocks and social classes represented in the Atlas sample, and of the types of speech represented by informants (e.g., cultivated, common, and folk). He then gives an excellent outline of the speech areas of Eastern United States (Northern, Midland, and Southern) and of the various smaller linguistic regions within each of the three major regions. All such discussion includes ample examples to substantiate statements about the linguistic individuality of a section. The book makes interesting reading, and is an excellent reference work.

Kurath, Hans, and McDavid, Raven I., Jr.

The Pronunciation of English in the Atlantic States. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1961.

Based on Linguistic Atlas surveys, this is one of the first analyses of American pronunciation which used a large corpus of data (nearly 1500 informants). After discussing the methods and techniques involved in the Atlas, the authors delineate the major dialect areas of cultivated speech along the eastern seaboard of the U. S. They also discuss in detail the regional and social differences in the pronunciation of vowels and consonants, and provide 180 maps and charts.

Kurath, Hans (with Bloch, Bernard; Bloch, Julia and Hansen, Marcus, L.)

Handbook of the Linguistic Geography of New England. Providence, R. I.: American Council of Learned Societies, 1939.

A presentation of the methods and results of the Linguistic Atlas of New England. After discussing in detail the dialect areas of New England, the authors explain the methods used in the Atlas project. These methods concern the training of field workers, selection of communities and informants, the conduct of interviews, and even editorial procedures. The settlement history of New England is reviewed, as are the biographies of the individual informants. Also included are the Atlas phonetic alphabet, the work sheets (questionnaire) used in the project, and a bibliography of relevant works on linguistic geography.

Without question, if one is interested in American regional and social dialects, the Handbook is "required reading". Here, in one volume, are not only the methods used by dialectologists, but also the results of the first major linguistic atlas survey done in the United States.

Lado, Robert

Linguistics Across Cultures: Applied Linguistics for Language Teachers.
Ann Arbor, Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 1957.

Designed for use by teachers of foreign languages, this book offers methods equally applicable to developing materials for teaching a standard, second dialect to speakers of a nonstandard dialect. Lado outlines the procedures for comparing two sound systems, two grammatical structures, two vocabulary systems, two writing systems, and two cultures. In comparing any two systems, the teacher should be able to predict those parts of the new system which will be acquired easily by the native speaker of some other language, as well as those that will present problems for him. The easy and difficult aspects of the new language vary, depending on the native language of the student.

Marckwardt, Albert H.

American English. New York: Oxford University Press, 1958.

A good short introduction to the history of the English language in America. The book begins with what the English spoken in America is like today, and some of the ways it differs from present-day British English. In tracing the settlement history of the United States, Marckwardt discusses some of the characteristics of the English spoken by the original settlers of America; it was Shakespeare's language that formed the starting point for American English. In the following chapter he surveys the influences of other languages, (principally American Indian languages, French, Spanish, Dutch, and German) on American English. Some of the more conservative trends in pronunciation, forms, and vocabulary in American Colonial English are then discussed, and compared to British English of the same period. Later innovations arose during the settling of the West. Marckwardt points out that, as the settlements beyond the Applachians prospered, a glorification of the commonplace also appeared in these areas, and this was reflected in the language.

Marckwardt then describes the regional and social variations in American speech, tying them to the pattern of settlement and the history of individual regions, and he covers briefly the variations in place names and surnames across the country. The future of American English is treated in the final chapter. There is an appendix, giving a list of phonetic symbols with their values, and a speech from Shakespeare transcribed phonetically in the pronunciation of the 16th century.

Marckwardt, Albert H.

Linguistics and the Teaching of English. London and Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1966.

An argument that the findings of linguistic science be applied in English classes, and some suggestions as to how this can be accomplished. The author compares the current approaches to English grammar, and argues persuasively against the prescriptive approach. He further points out that both "structural" and "transformational" grammar can be used; they both share the same propensity to describe what is English speech and not, as does prescriptive grammar, what ought to be said.

The author points to the contributions of linguistics in the areas of usage, composition, literary criticism, spelling, and reading, and notes that, in each area, objectivity is a goal to be sought. He closes with an appeal to all educators to adopt a more enlightened approach to language teaching.

McDavid, Raven I., Jr.

"Dialectology and the Classroom Teacher" College English. (Nov., 1962), 111-116.

In a paper given at the 1961 meeting of the National Council of Teachers of English, McDavid outlines some of the ways that dialectology can help the English teacher. The first part of the paper includes an introduction to the aims and methods of dialectology in America. In the last half of the paper, McDavid cites specific examples of the ways dialectology can aid the English teacher, especially the teacher of composition. Some of these are the following: students from German-speaking communities may carry over into English composition the German habit of inserting a participial or prepositional phrase between determiner and noun; American Negro students may drop conventional inflectional suffixes from nouns or verbs; Southerners, including the educated, pronounce the final consonant cluster -sts as just -s, and so they may misspell words such as fists, as fis; eastern Kentuckians sometimes convert used to into an adverb, as in the sentence, "Used to, everyone around here would bake their own bread"; students who have no contrast between horse and hoarse, former and farmer, do and due, and cot and caught may have spelling problems with these words.

McDavid, Raven I., Jr.

"Sense and Nonsense about American Dialects" PMLA, LXXXI (1966), 7-17.

In this article, McDavid offers concrete examples of some of the nonsense about dialects currently being expressed in otherwise respectable quarters; summarizes the methods of and types of findings from dialect study in America and Europe; and discusses the significance of dialect study, especially as it relates to teachers of English. Among the nonsensical ideas McDavid has documented are the following: (1) a belief that there is a mystical "standard", devoid of all regional association; (2) a belief that there are "racial" dialects independent of social and cultural experiences; (3) snobbishness toward "strong" dialects, such as that of Boston; and (4) equating of nonparallel terms such as "pidgin," "Cajun," and "Midland." In his historical review of dialect study, he includes information on the Linguistic Atlas of the U.S. and Canada, and similar projects on social dialects in New York City, Chicago, Akron, and elsewhere. In conclusion he states some facts about American dialects, including these:

1. Most regional varieties of American English and many subvarieties can now be described; from these descriptions, we can indicate further some of the social differences that are to be found in various dialect areas and in some major cities.
2. There are tensions between external norms and the expectations of one's associates, especially in the lower middle class.
3. Ambitious students in slum areas have been found to acquire a high degree of functional bidialectalism; any teaching program should make use of this human facility.

4. Grammatical forms are the surest social markers in American English; hence should be the first target of any teaching program.
5. Relatively few pronunciation features are clear social markers.
6. Few people can really identify the race of a speaker by pronunciation and voice quality.
7. There can be no single standard in programs for the disadvantaged; target dialect must vary according to the standard of the region.
8. The dominant culture must be educated in the causes and significances of dialect differences if it is to be expected to be more tolerant of deviations from its own dialects.

Mencken, H. L.

The American Language: An Inquiry into the Development of English in the United States. (edited and abridged by Raven I. McDavid, Jr.) New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1963.

A thorough study of the ways by which Americans, beginning with the language at the time of Shakespeare, have developed their own brand of English, quite distinct from the English of the British Isles. The author traces the various foreign influences (German, Spanish, Yiddish, etc.) on American English, untechnically discusses the different parts of speech, compares American and British English, and much more. McDavid has added much new information, separated by square brackets, into the running text.

In the comparison of British and American English, the sections on Honorifics, Jargon, Euphemisms, Forbidden Words, Terms of Abuse, and Expletives show Mencken at his best; hence, they are both informative and amusing.

But this classic study is far more than a mere compendium of linguistic facts about American English. In fact, the book as a whole is organized to make one rhetorical point: that the American language is far superior to the English language. While this is certainly questionable, The American Language is a must for anyone who is in any way involved in the teaching of English.

Reed, Carroll E.

Dialects of American English, Cleveland and New York: The World Publishing Co., 1967.

An introduction to the basic principles of dialectology, as well as to the history of the major dialect areas of the United States. The author discusses published and unpublished dialect research and research now in progress. He concludes with some observations on "the future of American dialect studies."

This is, perhaps, the best introduction for those unfamiliar with American dialectology. In addition to the background material that the book itself provides, the author has included a bibliography which lists the most important studies in the field.

Robertson, Stuart (revised by Cassidy, Frederic G.)

The Development of Modern English. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1954.

An easy-to-read text, which first discusses the nature of language, speculates about its origin, and then focuses on the English language. There is an extensive treatment of English as a member of the Indo-European family which is analyzed in some detail. In the section of the book on the history of the language, each chapter deals with a different aspect of English. First the authors trace the history of English sounds and inflections, then the sources of, and changes in, the English vocabulary, and, finally, historical developments in syntax and usage. They conclude with two chapters on the modern period: one on dictionaries and spelling, and one on pronunciation. A glossary is also provided.

Sapir, Edward

Language: An Introduction to the Study of Speech. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1921.

In his classic study, the author discusses the relationship between language and thought, with reference both to phonological patterns and the word; both of which are viewed as "psychological entities." Sapir outlines grammatical processes (e.g. reduplication, affixing, compounding of roots, internal vowel change, and internal consonant change) prior to introducing the topic of form in language. He considers the way that a language organizes concepts in a sentence to be central to the form of that language. The book includes a classification of linguistic concepts. Later, Sapir presents a typological classification for languages, based on (1) the types of concepts expressed, (2) the technique of expression (e.g., isolating, fusional, agglutinative, or symbolic), and (3) the degree of synthesis. Two chapters are devoted to language as a historical product; these, along with the chapters on how languages influence each other and on language, race and culture, are especially interesting to dialectologists. Language change ("drift" in Sapir's terms) and phonetic law are covered, with special attention paid to morphological changes resulting from phonetic changes. The chapter on how languages influence each other includes sections on borrowing and phonetic modification of borrowed words. The chapter on language, race, and culture destroys the notion that language and race are necessarily congruent. The final chapter considers style in literature as something conditioned by the inherent features of the language in which the literary work is written.

Shuy, Roger W.

Discovering American Dialects. Champaign, Illinois: National Council of Teachers of English, 1967.

A book designed for use in the classroom. It offers an introduction both to the nature of dialects (social and regional), and to how one investigates them systematically. In the section on pronunciation differences, Shuy outlines practical phonetics, and suggests classroom and homework exercises to help students develop skill in transcription. A checklist for regional variants of vocabulary items is included in the discussion of vocabulary differences. Although grammatical choices are as important as pronunciation and vocabulary choices for determining social levels, they are less so for determining regional differences. Included in the book is a listing of those grammatical items for which some regional association can be identified. In a chapter on the reasons for dialect differences, Shuy discusses patterns of settlement history; patterns of populations, and patterns of physical geography, such as isolation because of mountain ranges or rivers. After introducing the major regional American dialect areas, Shuy discusses the influence of foreign languages on American dialects. There is also a chapter on literary dialects. For all sections in the book, exercises are given in the form of fieldwork assignments.

Shuy, Roger (ed.)

Social Dialects and Language Learning. Champaign, Illinois: National Council of Teachers of English, 1964.

The proceedings of a conference on social dialectology, held at the University of Indiana and directed by Alva L. Davis of the Illinois Institute of Technology. The introductory paper, by Raven I. McDavid, Jr., discusses social dialectology in general; the remaining papers deal with different aspects of the problem.

Lee A. Pederson, Juanita Williamson, and Roger Shuy discuss their own then current projects, and San-su C. Lin, Ruth I. Golden, and Thomas J. Creswell discuss existing school programs. Then, William Labov, Beryl Bailey, and Charles Ferguson present reports of completed social dialect research projects. The other behavioral sciences were represented by Robert Green, John Gumpery, and Henry Levin, and the implications for future research were discussed by Muriel Crosby, Charlotte Brooks, Doris Gunderson, and W. Nelson Francis. Albert H. Marckwardt provided the summary of the proceedings, and pointed out the areas on which agreement was and was not reached, and the areas which were not discussed.

Sledd, James and Ebbit, Wilma R. (eds.)

Dictionaries and THAT Dictionary. Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Co., 1962.

Both an introduction to lexicography and a collection of reviews and articles on Webster's Third International Dictionary (the "THAT dictionary" of the title). First, the authors present an "introduction to the history and intent of English lexicography," in which they quote passages from such famous lexicographers as Noah Webster, Samuel Johnson, and Richard C. Trench.

The second section of the book, on the reception of Webster III, contains a large sample of reviews. It soon becomes clear that most of the reviewers themselves had never read the materials presented in part one, for they betray an awesome ignorance of lexicographical traditions.

The third section, titled "Postscript," contains Dwight Macdonald's attack on structural linguistics, and Patrick Kilbourn's and James Sledd's answers.

In addition to presenting the reviews and essays by others, the authors provide a number of questions for class discussion and also suggest topics for long papers, making this book ideal for classroom use.

Smith, Henry Lee, Jr.

Linguistic Science and the Teaching of English. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1966.

Smith's 1954 "Inglis Lecture" to the Graduate School of Education of Harvard University. The first part of the lecture provides an introduction to what a linguist does and of what relevance his work may be to the educator; also included in this part are statements on the differences between speech and writing, and on the importance of awareness of the structure of the spoken language, especially to those who teach reading and, to those who must teach a standard spoken dialect to their pupils. The second part of the lecture is technical: A brief introduction to the vowel and suprasegmental phonemes of American English. This section is very clearly written and makes a good introduction to Trager-Smith phonemic analysis of English. In the last section of the lecture, the author discusses the relevance of such information for teaching English, and makes a plea for an interdisciplinary approach to the solving of classroom problems.

Stack, Edward M.

The Language Laboratory and Modern Language Teaching. revised edition, New York: Oxford University Press, 1966.

After first discussing the nature and kinds of language laboratories, the author tells how the language laboratory can be used to best advantage. The first priorities, for example, after the lab is installed, should be the creation of routine procedures for its use, and the establishment of a staff, each member of which with specific duties to perform.

The use of the lab by teachers and students is spelled out in some detail. Not only does the author discuss the different drills to be used (i.e., pattern drills of various kinds), he also presents ways to integrate the lab experience with the classroom experience, and what goals should be aimed for in each. In the last chapter, he suggests different ways to evaluate student performance, and provides several hints on how to construct adequate testing procedures.

Stewart, William A. (ed.)

Non-Standard Speech and the Teaching of English. Language Information Series #2. Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1964.

A collection of three papers. The first, "Foreign Language Teaching Methods in Quasi-Foreign Language Situations," is Stewart's. In it, he gives four examples of situations in which English teaching achieves little success because the materials and methods used are designed for teaching native speakers of standard English, while the students' own speech is either a creole, as in Jamaica, or a dialect so devient from the standard that there is structural mismatch, as in many urban schools in the United States. In the second paper, "Non-Standard Negro Speech in Chicago," Lee A. Pederson summarizes some of his findings from a comparison of the phonology of Chicago Negros and whites. "Some Approaches to Teaching English as a Second Language," by Charlotte K. Brooks, suggests (1) that standard English should and can be taught successfully as if it were a second language to children who speak a non-standard dialect, and (2) that the child ought not to be taught to reject his first dialect.

Thomas, Owen

Transformational Grammar and the Teacher of English. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965.

Specifically geared to the English teacher, this book provides the "easiest" entry into the subject of transformational grammar. The author starts with a definition of grammar, and then works through transformational approaches to grammatical categories (i.e., "parts of speech"), and some elementary permutation transformations. He also includes a statement on the place of (transformational) grammar in the schools, and how grammatical analysis can be made relevant to the study of literature. A bibliography is included.

Waterman, John T.

Perspectives in Linguistics: An Account of the Background of Modern Linguistics. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1963.

This very short (about 100 pages) book traces the history of linguistics from ancient times until 1950. The work falls into four sections: (1) The study of Language in Ancient Times, (2) Medieval and Early Modern Periods, (3) The Nineteenth Century, and (4) The Twentieth Century to 1950. On the whole, it is an abreviated but lucid account of people and their ideas, and especially of how linguistic theories relate to other philosophical and scientific ideas of their times. Major members of "schools" (e.g., Neo-Grammarians, Prague School, Neo-Bloomfieldians) are discussed, along with their contributions to linguistic thought and their influences on each other. Rather than discuss theories in abstract terms, Waterman chooses to illustrate key points with data from various languages, a feature of the book that enhances its clarity. Tables of phonetic characters and a selected, annotated bibliography are also included.

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Whorf, Benjamin Lee

Language, Thought, and Reality: Selected Writings of Benjamin Lee Whorf. John B. Carroll (ed.) Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1956.

Whorf's basic statements on grammatical categories and on the organization of a descriptive grammar are included in this collection. In addition, the book has an introduction by the editor, a long-time friend of Whorf, and a forward by Stuart Chase. Whorf arrived at his conclusions about grammars through his experience with American Indian languages, especially with Hopi. One of the most stimulating and controversial ideas in linguistics also derives from his findings: the Whorf hypothesis (or the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis). After comparing the world views held by native speakers of Hopi and other non-Indo-European languages to those held by speakers of English and other Indo-European languages, Whorf concluded that a person's view of reality is shaped by the grammatical structure of his native language. The paper, "Science and Linguistics", is the classic statement of this hypothesis. The book also includes articles on Mayan hieroglyphs and on language and thought.